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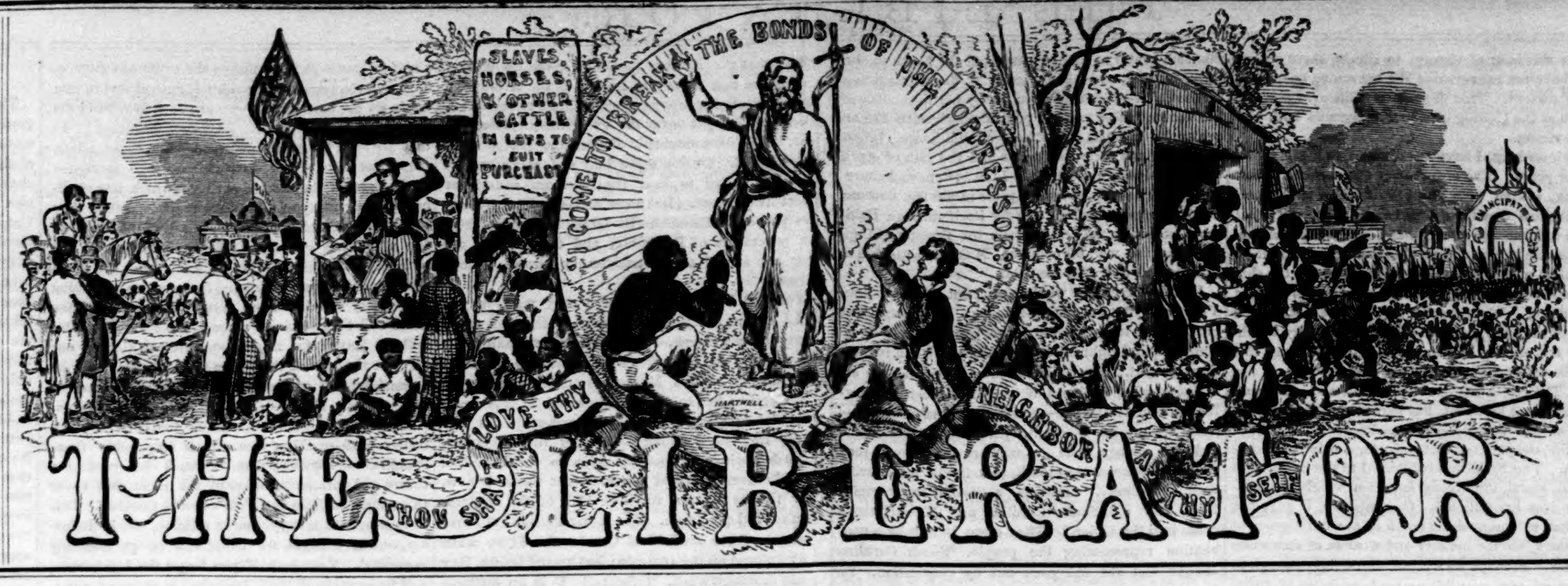

THE LIBERATOR.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
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Selections.

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON THE WAR.

A SERMON,

Preached at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sunday evening, April 14, 1861, and reported for *The Independent* by T. J. ELLINWOOD.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go FORWARD."—EXOD. XIV. 16.

Moses was raised up to be the emancipator of three millions of people. At the age of forty, having, through a singular providence, been reared in the midst of luxury, in the proudest, most intelligent, and most civilized court on the globe, with a heart uncorrupt, with a genuine love of his own race and people, he began to act as their emancipator. He boldly slew one of their oppressors. And, seeing dissension among his brethren, he sought to bring them to peace. He was rejected, reproached, and reproved; and finding himself discovered, he fled, and, for the sake of liberty, became a witness, a fugitive, and a martyr. For forty years, uncomplaining, he dwelt apart with his father-in-law, Jethro, in the wilderness, in the peaceful pursuits of a herdsman. At eighty—the time when most men lay down the burden of life, or have long laid it down—he began his life-work. He was called back by the voice of God; and now, accompanied with companions, he returned, confronted the king, and, moved by Divine inspiration, demanded, repeatedly, the release of his people. The first demand was sanctioned by a terrific plague; the second by a second terrible judgment; the third by a third frightful devastation; the fourth by a fourth dreadful blow; the fifth by a fifth desolating, sweeping mischief. A sixth, a seventh, an eighth, and a ninth time, he demanded their release. And when was there ever, on the face of the earth, a man that, once having power, would let it go till life itself went with it? Pharaoh, who is the grand type of oppressors, held on in spite of the Divine command, and of the Divine punishment. Then God let fly the last terrific judgment, and smote the first-born of Egypt; and there was wailing in every house of the midnight land. And then, in the midst of the first gush of grief and anguish, the tyrant said, "Let them go! let them go!" And he did let them go; he shoved them out; and they went pell-mell in great confusion on their way, taking up their line of march to escape from Egypt. * * * *

God has raised up many men, at different periods of the world, to bring his cause forth from its various exigencies. Wherever a man is called to defend a truth or a principle, a church or a people, a nation or an age, he may be said to be, like Moses, the leader of God's people or cause. And in every period of the world God has shut up his people, at one time and another, to himself. He has brought their enemies behind them, as he brought the Egyptians behind the children of Israel. He has hedged them in on either hand. He has spread out the unfordable sea before them. He has so beset them with difficulties, when they were attempting to live for right, for duty, and for liberty, that they have been like Israel.

When men stand for the right, their troubles are not a presumption that they are in the wrong. Since the world began, men that have stood for the right have had to stand for it, as Christ stood for the world, suffering for victory.

In the history which belongs peculiarly to us, over and over again the same thing is found. In that grand, beginning struggle, in which Luther figured so prominently, he stood in a doubtful conflict. He was in the minority; he was vehemently pressed with enemies on every side; nine times out of ten during his whole life the odds were against him. And yet he died victorious, and we reap the fruit of his victory.

In one of the consequences of that noble struggle—namely, the assertion in Holland and Netherlands of civil liberty and religious toleration—the same thing took place. Almost the entire globe was against this amphibious republic, until England cared for them; and England cared for them but very doubtfully and very imperfectly. All the reigning influences, all the noblest of the commanding men of the Continent, were against them. The conflict was one long and dubious, in which they suffered extremely, and conquered through their suffering.

In the resulting struggle in England, which was borrowed largely from the Continent—the Puritan uprising, the Puritan struggle—the same thing occurred. The Puritans were enveloped in darkness. Their enemies were more than their friends. The issue was exceedingly doubtful. Their very victory began in apparent defeat. For when at last, wearied and discouraged, they could no longer abide the restriction of their liberty in England, they set sail to plant colonies upon these shores. They founded in New England liberal institutions. On the sea did they venture, but the ocean, black and wild, before they left it, was covered with winter.

In every one of these instances, darkness and the flood lay before the champions of truth and rectitude. God in his providence said to them, though they were without apparent instrumentalities, "Go forward! Venture everything! Endure everything! Yield the precious truths never! Live for ever by them! Die with *them* if you die at all."

The whole lesson of the past is, that safety and honor come by holding fast to one's principles; by pressing them with courage; by going into darkness and defeat cheerfully for them.

And now our turn has come. Right before us lies the Red Sea of war. It is red indeed. There is blood in it. We have come to the very edge of it, and the Word of God to us to-day is, "Speak unto this people that they go forward!" It is not of our procuring. It is not of our wishing. It is not our hand that has stricken the first stroke, nor drawn the first blood. We have prayed against it. We have struggled against it. Ten thousand times we have said, "Let this cup pass from us." It has been overruled. We have yielded everything but manhood, and principle, and truth, and honor, and we have heard the voice of God saying, "Yield these never!" And these not being yielded, war has been let loose upon this land.

Now, let us look both ways into this matter, that we may decide what it is our duty to do.

1. There is no fact susceptible of proof in history, if it be not true that this Federal Government was created for the purpose of justice and liberty; and not liberty, either, with the construction that traitorous or befooled heads are attempting to give it—liberty with a devil in it! We know very well what was the breadth and the charity of the faith of those men that formed the early articles of our Confederation. If there was any peculiarity to their faith, it was that their notion of liberty was often extravagant. But there was no doubtfulness in their position. And the instruments which accompanied and preceded it, and the opinions of the men that framed it, put this fact beyond all controversy: that the Constitution of the United States, together with the Declaration of Independence, was meant to be as we now hold it, as we now defend it, as we have held it, and as we have been defending it. And at length even this is conceded, as I shall have occasion to say, further on, by the enemies of liberty in this country. The Vice-President of the so-called Southern Confederacy has stated, recently, that there was a blunder made in the construction of our Constitution on this very truth of universal liberty, thus admitting the grand fact that that immortal instrument, as held by the North, embodies the views of those who framed it; and that those views are unmistakably in favor of liberty to all.

2. There can be no disputing the fact that, from the commercial causes, an element of slavery which had a temporary refuge in the beginning in this land, swelled to an unforeseen and unexpected power, and for fifty years has held the administrative power of the country in its hands. No man acquainted with our politics hesitates to say that while the spirit of liberty first suggested our national ideas and fashioned our national institutions, after that work was done, the Government passed into the hands of the Slave Power; and that that power has administered these institutions during the last fifty years for its own purposes, or in a manner that has been antagonistic to the interests of this country.

3. Against this growing usurpation for the last twenty-five years, there has been rising up and organizing a proper, legal, constitutional opposition, wishing not the circumscription or injury of any section in this land, but endeavoring to keep our institutions out of the hands of despotism, and on the side of liberty. For twenty-five years there has been a struggle to see to it that those immortal instruments that were framed for the purposes of liberty should not be wrested from their original intent—that they should be maintained for the objects for which they were created.

4. What is the means that has been employed to maintain our institutions? Free discussion. That simply. We have gone before the people in every proper form. For twenty years of defeat, though of growing influence, we have argued the questions of human rights and human liberty, and the doctrines of the Constitution and of our fathers; and we have maintained that the children should stand where the fathers did. At last the continent has consented. We began as a handful, in the midst of mobs, and derision, and obloquy. We have gone through the experience of Gethsemane and Calvary. The cause of Christ among his poor has suffered as the Master suffered, again, and again, and again; and at last the public sentiment of the North has been revolutionized What! revolutionized away from the doctrines of the fathers? No; back to the doctrines of the fathers. Revolutionized against our institutions? No; in favor of our institutions. We have taken simply the old American principles. We have merely taken the ground which was taken by our venerated ancestors, and from which, owing to foreign influences, we had lapsed. This is the history very simply stated. The children have gone back to the old landmarks. We stand for the doctrines and instruments that the fathers gave us.

5. The vast majority of this nation are now on the side of our American institutions, according to their original intent. We ask only this: that our Government may be what it was made to be—an instrument of justice and liberty. We ask no advantages; no new prerogatives; no privileges whatsoever. We merely say, "Let there be no intestine revolution in our instruments, and let them stand as they were made, and for the purposes for which they were created." Is there anything unreasonable, anything wrong, in that? Is it wrong to reason? Is it wrong to discuss? Is it wrong to go before a free people with their business, and, in the field, in the caucus, in the assembly, in all deliberative bodies, argue fairly, and express the result by the American means—the omnipotence of the vote? Is that wrong? It is what we have been doing for the last few years. By the prescribed methods of the Constitution, and in the spirit of liberty which it embodied and evoked, we have done our proper work. Before God, we cleanse our hands of all imputation of designing injustice, or of seeking wrong. We have not sought any one's damage. We have aimed at no invidious restrictions for any. We have simply said, "God, through our fathers, committed to us certain institutions, and we will maintain them to the end of our lives, and to the end of time." That is what we have done.

6. Seven States, however, in a manner revolutionary not only of government, but in violation of the rights and customs of their own people, have disowned their country and made war upon it! There has been a spirit of patriotism in the North; but, within my memory, never in the South. I never heard a man from the South speak of himself as an American. Men from the South always speak of themselves as Southerners. When I was abroad, I never spoke of myself as a Northerner, but always as a citizen of the United States. I love our country; and it is a love of the country, and not a love of the North alone, that pervades the people of the North. There has never been witnessed such patience, such self-denial, such magnanimity, such true patriotism, under such circumstances, as that which has been manifested in the North. And in the South the feeling has been sectional, local. The people there have been proud, not that they belong to the nation, but that they were born where the sun burns. They are hot, narrow, and boastful; for, out of China, there is not so much conceit as exists among them. They have been devoid of that large spirit which takes in the race, and the nation, and its institutions, and its history, and that which its history prophesies—the prerogative of carrying the banner of liberty to the Pacific from the Atlantic.

Now, these States, in a spirit entirely in agreement with their past developments, have revolutionized and disowned the United States of America, and set up a so-called Government of their own. Shall we, now, go forward under these circumstances?

For the first time, in the history of this nation, there is a deliberate and extensive preparation for war, and this country has received the deadly thrust of bullet and bayonet from the hands of her own children. If we could have prevented it, this should not have taken place. But it is a fact! It hath happened! The question is no longer a question of choice. The war is brought to us. Shall we retreat, or shall we accept the hard conditions on which we are to maintain the grounds of our fathers? Hearing the voice of God in his providence saying, "Go forward!" shall we go?

Before I speak of some conditions on which we may have peace, let me say in advance, that no man shall paint the horrors of war so vividly as that I shall shrink from them. I go with those that go furthest in describing the wretchedness and wickedness and monstrosity of war. The only point on which I should probably differ from any is this: that while war is one of those evils, the exponents of which are so presented to our senses that we measure and estimate it, there are other evils just as great, and much more terrible, only we have not the power of impressing our senses with their mischiefs. I hold that it is ten thousand times better to have war than to have slavery. I hold that to be corrupted silently by giving up manhood, by degenerating, by becoming cravens, by yielding one right after another, is infinitely worse than war. Why, war is resurrection, in comparison with the state to which we should be brought, in such an event. And although war is a terrible evil, there are other evils that are more terrible. In our own peculiar case, though I would say nothing to garnish it, nothing to palliate it, nothing to alleviate it, nothing to make you more willing to have it, nothing to remove the just abhorrence which every man and patriot should have for it, yet I would say that, in the particular condition into which we have been brought, it will not be an unmixed evil. Eighty years of unexampled prosperity have gone far toward making us a people that judge of moral questions by their relation to our convenience and ease. We are in great danger of becoming a people that shall measure by earthly things—by the lowest standard of a commercial expediency. We have never suffered for our principles. And now, if it please God to do that which daily we pray that he may avert—if it please God to wrap this nation in war, one result will follow: we shall be called to suffer for our faith. We shall be called to the heroism of doing, and daring, and bearing, and suffering for the things which we believe to be vital to the salvation of this people.

On what conditions, then, may we retreat from this war, and on what conditions may we have peace?

1. We may do it on condition that two-thirds of this nation shall implicitly yield up to the dictation of one-third. You can have peace on that ground. Italy could have had peace at the hands of Francis II. They had nothing to do but to say to that tyrant, "Here is my neck: put your foot on it," to obtain peace. The people of Hungary may have peace, if they will only say to him of Vienna, "Reign over us as you please: our lives are in your hands." There is never any trouble in having peace, if men will yield themselves to the control of those that have no business to control them. Two-thirds of this nation unquestionably stand on the side of the original articles of our Constitution, and in the service of liberty, and one-third say "No!" Now if the two-thirds will give up to the one-third, we can have peace—a little while.

2. We can have peace, if we can legalize and establish the right of any discontented community to rebel, and set up intestine governments within the Government of the United States. Yield that principle, demoralize government, and you can have peace—for a little while. You cannot yield that principle, and not demoralize government.

If in a family of six children, none of whom are of age, three set up against father and mother and brother and sister, the whole household will be in a constant ferment. Either the children must be subdued, or there is an end of peace in that family. The parents must govern the children, or they will be forever at war.

Now, in our land, it is held that a minority, on becoming discontented with the old Government, have a right to secede and set up a new one. And if this is the right of seven States on the Gulf, it is the right of seven States on the lakes. If it is the right of seven States on the lakes, it is the right of five or three States on the Ohio river. If it is the right of a number of States, it is the right of one State. And if it is the right of any State, there is not a State, a half of a State, a county, or a town, that has not the same right. It is a right that sanctions disintegration. It is a right that aims at the destruction of the attraction of governmental cohesion. It is a right that invalidates all power in government. And if you will grant this right; if you will consent to have this Government broken up; if you are willing that our country should degenerate to the worst form of Jacobinism, you can have peace—for a little while.

3. We can have peace, if we will agree fundamentally to change our Constitution, and, instead of maintaining a charter of universal freedom, write it out as a deliberate charter of oppression.

Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the so-called Confederate States, declared, in a formal speech, that our Constitution was framed on a fundamental mistake, inasmuch as it took it for granted that men were born for freedom and equality. And that is the ground taken by those States. It is according to the reading of their new Constitution. They have expunged the doctrine of universal liberty, and put in its place the doctrine of liberty to the strong, and servitude to the weak—for that is just what it comes to. It is said that the African race, by reason of their nationality and savagism, are not fit for liberty, and that the white race, by reason of their nationality and civilization, are fit to govern them. It is merely a plea that weak persons are not fit to take care of themselves, and that strong persons are fit to take care of them; and it is a plea that is just as applicable to any other peoples as to the Anglo-Saxons and the Africans. It is simply a doctrine that might makes right. It may be stated in this form: "You are weak, and I am strong, and I am therefore your lawful master." If it is good with reference to the Africans and the Anglo-Saxons, it is good with reference to all other races. And if it is good in reference to races, it is good in reference to individuals. Therefore, there is not a workman, there is not a poor man, there is not a man that is low in station, at the North, who is not interested in this matter, who is not touched in his rights, and who is not insulted, by the spirit that lies radical in the new Constitution of the so-called Confederate States, which holds that there is appointed of God a governing class, and a class to be governed—a class that are born governors because they are strong and smart and well-to-do, and a class that are born servants because they are poor and weak, and unable to take care of themselves. Now take that glorious, flaming sentence in the Declaration of Independence, which asserts the right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and which pronounces that right to be alike inalienable to all—take that and strike it out, and put in its place this infernal article of the new Constitution of the Southern States, and you can have peace—for a little while. There is no trouble about having peace. What an unreasonable people we are! If we will only pay enough for peace, we can have it.

This diabolical principle is also deliberately held and advocated by the churches of the South. I hold that the Southern churches are all of them sound on the question of the Bible, and infidel on the question of its contents! They believe that this is God's Book; they believe that this Book is the world's charter; and they believe that it teaches the religion of servitude. Every sermon that I have received within the last year from the South has been a various echo of this one atrocious ground, held in common with all the despotic preachers of Europe. Any man that has read old South's sermons, has read over and over again all the arguments contained in the raw, jejune productions of Southern clerical advocates for oppression. In all the discussions between Milton and Salmasius, and in all the writings of Roman priests that have sought to bolster up sacerdotal rule, these arguments have been put forth far more ably than our unscholarly Southerners have put them forth. But this is the ground which has been taken by the Christian church of the South: that in Christ Jesus all men are not created equal—that white masters are, but that black servants are not!

And that is not all. Not only is this new Government framed on this ground, and not only have all the churches of the South taken this ground, so that it may be said of the Southern Confederacy as it was said of one of the old revolted tribes, "They have a priest to their house"—not only this, but there has just now been raised up in the North a cub of the same kind—a society for the promotion of *national unity*, on the basis of a change of our national instruments of government. This society proposes to restore peace to this country. And how? Exactly as you restore uniformity of color in a room where some things are red, some blue, and some yellow—by blowing the light out so that all things will be of the same color! We are very much divided in this land, one part believing in liberty and the other believing in servitude; and it is proposed to bring these two parts together in unity, by destroying the distinction between them. What is this society's own statement, as contained in the letter which they have put forth with their articles? They make this formal assertion: that that portion of our original Declaration of Independence which makes all men free and equal, has been misinterpreted, or is false. They endeavor to say it soft; but it is a thing that cannot be said soft. To breathe it, to whisper it, makes it louder than thunder.

Indeed, it is true that men are not physiologically equal. No man ever believed that they were. They do not weigh alike. They differ in respect to bone and tissue. They are not the same as regards mental caliber. Their dynamic forces are different. They are not capable of exerting the same amount of political influence. In the nations of Europe it was held that the royal head, *jure Divino*, had privileges which the nobles had not; that there belonged to the nobles prerogatives which did not belong to the commonalty; and that the political rights of the great common people were to be graduated according to their status in society. But our fathers said, "God gives the same political rights to all alike. The people are king, and the people are nobles. They are equal in this: that they all stand before the same law of justice, and that justice is to be the same to one as to another. The richest and the poorest, the wisest and the most ignorant, the highest and the lowest, are on an equality in this regard." And what was meant by the Declaration of Independence was, that every man born into life was born with such dignities, with such a nature, conferred upon him, that, as a child of God, he has a right to confront government, and legislature, and laws, and say, "I demand, in common with every other man, justice, protection, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And this is what our society in the North for the promotion of national unity undertake, in their first article, to say is a lie!

Now, you can have your American eagle as you want it. If with the South, you will strike out his eyes, then you shall stand with Mr. Davis and Mr. Stephens of the Confederate States; if with the Christians of the South you will pluck off his wings, you shall stand with the Southern churches; and if with the new peace-makers that have risen up in the North, you will pull out his tail-feathers, you shall stand with the society for the promotion of national unity! But when you have stricken out his eyes so that he can no longer see, when you have plucked off his wings so that he can no longer fly, and when you have pulled out his guiding tail-feathers so that he can no longer steer himself, but rolls in the dirt a mere buzzard, then will he be worth preserving? Such an eagle it is that they mean to serve up for the banquet of liberty!

Now if any man is fierce for peace, and is willing to pay the price demanded for it, he can have it. On those conditions you can have peace as long as the Jews did. For three guilty days they were rid of the Savior, and then he rose from the grave, with eternal power on his head, and beyond all touch of weakness or death, and went on high to the source of eternal power, there to live, and to live for ever.

4. We must accordingly, if we go on to purchase peace on these terms, become partners in slavery, and consent, for the sake of peace, to ratify this gigantic evil. We cannot wink at it. We are called to bear overt witness either for or against it. Every State in this Union, according to the new Constitution, must be open to slavery. It is the design of not a few men at the North to make this the issue at the next election: whether we shall not reconstruct this Government according to the Constitution of the Confederate States, one feature of which is that it proposes that slavery shall have liberty to go wherever it pleases—that slavery shall have the right of incursion in any part of this country. If you consent to such a reconstruction as is proposed, you must open every one of your States to the incoming of slavery. Not only that, but every territory on this continent is to be opened to slavery, if a reconstruction like this takes place. We are called to take the executive lancet, and the virus of slavery, and lift up the arm of this virgin continent, and inoculate it with this terrific poison. If you will do these things, you are to be permitted to escape war.

5. Next in order must of course be silence. When we have gone so far, we shall no longer have any right of discussion, of debate, of criticism—we shall no longer have any right, as it is called, of *agitation*.

On these conditions we may have peace. If we reject these conditions, we are to have separation, demoralization of government, and war.

Now are you prepared to take peace on these conditions? You will not get it on any other conditions. If you have peace, you are to stigmatize the whole history of the past; you are to yield your religious convictions; you are to give over the Government into the hands of factious revolutionists; you are to suppress every manly sentiment, and every sympathy for the oppressed. Will you take peace on such a ground as that? So far as I myself am concerned, I utterly abhor peace on any such ground. Give me war redder than blood, and fiercer than fire, so that with this terrific infliction I may maintain my faith of God in human liberty; my faith of the fathers in the instruments of liberty; my faith in this land as the appointed abode and chosen refuge of liberty for all the earth! War is terrible, but this abyss of ignominy is yet more terrible.

What, then, if we will go forward in the providence of God, and maintain our integrity, are the steps that are before us?

1. Instead of yielding our convictions, it is time to cleanse them; to deepen them; to give them more power; to make them more earnest and more religious. There is no reason, now, why we should compromise. There is nothing to be gained by compromising. And it is time that parents should talk on the subject in the family, and indoctrinate their children with an abhorrence for slavery, and a love for liberty. It is time for schools to have their scholars instructed in these matters. It is time for every church to make its pews flame and glow with enthusiasm for freedom, and hatred for oppression. While the air of the South is full of pestilent doctrines of slavery, accursed be our communities if we will not be as zealous and enthusiastic for liberty as they are against it. If their air is filled with the storm and madness of oppression, let ours be full of the sweet peace and love of liberty.

2. We must draw the lines. There have been a great many men that have been on both sides. There have been a great many men that have been thrown backward and forward from one side to the other, like a shuttle. But it is time for every man to choose one side or the other. We want no shufflers; we want no craven cowards; we want *men*; we want every man to show his hand, and say, "I am for liberty, and the Constitution, and the country, as our fathers gave them to us," or else, if he does not believe in these, say, "I am against them." It is time that middle men were kicked out! Times are coming in which the lines are being drawn.

Thousands, thank God, of great men have spoken to us; but I think that the voice of Sumter has done more to bring men together, and to produce unity of feeling among them on this subject, than the most eloquent tongued orator that ever was heard in this land.

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We must say in this matter, my friends, as Christ said, "He that is not for us is against us." I will have no commerce, I will not cross palms, with a man that disowns liberty in such a struggle as is before us! I will not give him shelter or house-room—except as a convicted sinner; then I will take him, as the prodigal was taken, in his rags and nakedness! But so long as he stands up with impudent face against the things that are dearest to God's heart, and dearest to the instincts of this people, I shall treat him as what he is—a *traitor!* There ought to be but one feeling in the North, and that ought to be a feeling for liberty, which should sweep through the land like a mighty wind.

3. We must not stop to measure costs—especially the costs of going forward—on any basis so mean and narrow as that of pecuniary prosperity. We must put our honor and religion into this struggle. God is helping you; for no matter how much you deplore the state of things, you cannot help yourselves. You may talk with your till, and safe, and bank, and you may look at your accounts on both sides, but your talking and looking will make no difference with your affairs. The time is past in which these things could be of any avail. This matter must now be settled. You must have a part in settling it. The question is whether that shall be a manly or an ignoble part.

With the North is the strength, the population, the courage. I stand for this truth: that there is not on this continent that breadth of courage—the courage of a man in distinction from the courage of a brute beast—which there is in the free States of the North.

It was General SCOTT—that noble and heroic patriot, whose life is to be topped off with illustrious and immortal honor, when his days here are ended (and may God long delay the hour of his departure)—it was he that said that the New Englanders were the hardest to get into a fight, and the most terrible to meet in a conflict, of any set of men on the globe.

And we have no braggart courage; we have no courage that rushes into an affray for the love of fighting. We have that courage which comes from calm intelligence. We have that courage which comes from broad moral sentiment. We have no anger, but we have indignation. We have no irritable passion, but we have fixed will. We regard war and contest as the last evils; but when, detesting them as we do, we are roused so as to enter into them, our courage will be of the measure of our detestation. You may be sure that the cause which can stir up the feelings of the North sufficiently to bring them into such a conflict, will develop in them a courage that will be terrific to the men who have to meet it. I could wish no worse punishment to those that decry the courage of the North, than that they shall have to meet her when she is once brought out, and fairly in the field.

4. We must aim at a peace built on foundations so solid, of God's immutable truth, that nothing can reach to unsettle it. Let this matter never come up again. Better have it thoroughly settled, though it take a score of years to settle it, than to have an intermittent fever for the next hundred years, breaking out every five or ten years. It is bad. That has nothing to do with it. Your house is on fire; and the question is, What will you do? You are in the struggle, and the question is, Will you go through it in the spirit of your ancestors, in the spirit of Christians and patriots, in the spirit that belongs to the age of the world in which you live, and settle it so that it shall not be in the power of mischief to unsettle it? Or will you dally? Will you delay? I know which you will do. This question is now going forward to a settlement.

5. Let not our feelings be vengeful nor savage. We can go into this conflict with a spirit just as truly Christian as any that ever inspired us in the performance of a Christian duty. Indignation is very different from anger. Conscience is very different from revenge. The spirit of fury—let it be far from us; but a spirit of earnestness, of willingness to do, to suffer, and to die, if need be, for our land and our principles—that may be a religious spirit. We may consecrate it with prayer.

It is said that in the days of our American Revolution, Dr. Spring of Newburyport took up the foundation of his church, and dug out the dirt beneath them (for you know that natural deposits of saltpetre are found under the walls of churches and other buildings) that they might extract from it material for the manufacture of gunpowder.

During the wars of New Jersey, Dr. Murray of Elizabethtown led the men of his vicinity into the field, and did good service; and it is reported of him that when their wadding gave out (they had no such cartridges then as we have now), he went to the church and brought away the hymn-books, and gave them to the soldiers, and instructed them to use them for wadding, saying, "Boys, give them of Dr. Watts!" I think that is related as from Dr. Murray himself.

And all through the struggle of the Revolution, men there were that preached on the Sabbath, and that when not preaching went from tent to tent and performed kind offices to those that were sick or wounded, cheered those that were in despondency, encouraged those whose trials were severe, and led or accompanied their brethren to those conflicts which resulted in the achievement of liberty.

We shall not need to go into the ranks. We shall not need to break the order of society. We are not so poor, we are not so few in population, as to make these things necessary. But I believe, if it were needful, that the old spirit would be found yet in the church; and that in that patriotism which dares to do as well as teach, laymen and officers and pastors would be found no whit behind in our day what they were in the Revolutionary day. At any rate, when God's providence calls so that there can be no mistake as to the name that is spelt out, I think there is *one* that will be ready to respond!

I do not say these things because I think this matter is going to such a desperate length, but because I wish to express the confidence I feel, at a time like this, in Northern power, Northern zeal, Northern earnestness, and religion therein.

Let me say two things more.

It is trying to be in suspense; to live in the tormenting whirl of rumor; now to see the banner up, and now to see it trailing in the dust. Early yesterday, things seemed inauspicious. Toward evening, all appeared calm and fair. To-day, disastrous and depressing rumors were current. This evening, I came hither sad from the tidings that that stronghold which seemed to guard the precious name and lasting fame of the noble and gallant ANDERSON had been given up; but since I came into this desk, I have received a dispatch from one of our most illustrious citizens, saying that Sumter is reënforced, and that Moultrie is the fort that has been destroyed. [Tremendous and prolonged applause, expressed by enthusiastic cheers, clapping of hands, and waving of handkerchiefs.] But what if the rising sun tomorrow should reverse the message? What if the tidings that greet you in the morning should be but the echo of the old tidings of disaster? You live in hours in which you are to suffer suspense. Now lifted up you will be prematurely cheering, and now cast down you will be prematurely desponding. Look forward, then, past the individual steps, past the various vicissitudes of experience, to the glorious end that is coming. Look beyond the present to that assured victory which awaits us in the future. Let us not be tossed up and down as men on a troubled sea are tossed by chopping waves.

Young men, you will live to see more auspicious days. Later sent, delayed in your voyage into life, you will see the bright consummation, in part, at least, of that victory of this land, by which, with mortal throe, it shall cast out from itself all morbific influences, and cleanse itself from slavery. And you that are in middle life shall see the ultimate triumph advancing beyond anything that you have yet known. The sceptre shall not depart. The Government shall not be shaken from its foundations.

Let us give devout thanks to God, that when blindly choosing, we scarcely knew whom, it pleased his providence to point out, and lay choice upon, not a politician, but a citizen, a true patriot, a wise man, temperate, forbearing, prudent, but to the last drop of his blood patriotic, who loves his country more than any party, the Constitution more than any platform, and the original principles of liberty in our articles of confederation more than any of the modern doctrines that have been put forth by base, designing men. Let us thank God for the men that at last we have at the head of the nation, and under whose judicious management I doubt not things will go rightly, successfully, and, in the end, victoriously.

Let no man, then, in this time of peril, fail to associate himself with that cause which is to be so entirely glorious. Let not your children, as they carry you to your burial, be ashamed to write upon your tombstone the truth of your history. Let every man that lives and owns himself an American, take the side of true American principles—liberty for one, and liberty for all; liberty now, and liberty forever; liberty as the foundation of government, and liberty as the basis of union; liberty against revolution, liberty against anarchy, and liberty against slavery; liberty here, and liberty everywhere, the world through!

And now, as the trump of God has sounded, and the grand procession is forming; as Italy has risen, and is wheeling into the ranks; as Hungary, though mute, is beginning to beat time and make ready for the march; as Poland, having long slept, has dreampt of liberty again, and is waking; as the thirty million serfs are hearing the roll of the drum, and going forward into the state of citizenship, let it not be your miserable fate, nor mine, to live in a nation that shall be reeling, and staggering, and wallowing in the orgies of despotism! We, too, have a right to march in this grand procession to liberty. By the memory of the fathers; by the suffering of our Puritan ancestry; by every line of the Declaration of Independence, and every article of our Constitution; by what we are and what our progenitors were, we have a right to walk foremost in this procession of nations toward the bright and blessed millennial future.

Stand, every one of you! Pray much. Love while you fight. As the warrior can carry the most elastic plume, that rises at every step with peculiar beauty, while at the same time he carries a truncheon, a battle-axe, or a sword, whose edge steel itself cannot turn; so do you, while you have zeal and courage, and an unwavering purpose, carry your feelings elastic, and move with all the patience and love and tenderness of a manly nature. And, having done all, to stand, and God shall give you the victory.

I am done for to-night. I did not mean to say so much. I could not say less. It has been my duty, since I have been your pastor, from year to year to keep you advised of the signs of the times, and give you such counsel as I could. And I call you to witness that I have sought, in the simplicity of my heart, but one thing—by preaching and exhortation to inspire a spirit of true American patriotic liberty among the young men of this congregation, and among the members of this church. Like all others that are in the midst of changing scenes, with prophetic vision sometimes I have seen things exaggerated; sometimes I have been overhopeful; sometimes I have seen and found that I did not see. But this testimony I can bear: that if my ministry were to close at this hour, I could say that, from the beginning of it to the end, I have never forgotten the slave; I have never forgotten the weak and the poor; I have felt that the peculiar mission of the Gospel was to be good news to those that are neglected and abandoned to their destroyers, and have sought so to preach it. With error, with imperfection, with all that weakness that belongs to my nature, I have mixed with the pure Gospel, I doubt not, many elements that are to be taken out of it in the great trying day. But, one thing, I can lay my hand on my heart before my Judge and say—that I have not sought mine own, and have not sought to build you up in your own selfish estate. As before that bar where we shall meet, and face our God, and give our account, I can say that I have sought to make you love God and man, and I have sought to make you love liberty—the last and best legacy of God to man.

Swerve not from that faith. Living, hold it; dying, bear witness to it; and rise up to its glory and its immortality.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE WAR.

Phonographic report by J. M. W. Yerrinton.

On Sunday last, April 21st, not less than four thousand people were crowded within the walls of the spacious Music Hall, in Boston, to listen to a Discourse on the War, by Wendell Phillips, Esq., before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society; and almost an equal number were excluded, because of the impossibility of finding even an inch of standing room. The platform was most profusely, yet tastefully decorated with the "stars and stripes," for the first time seeming to symbolize the cause of impartial freedom, under the extraordinary circumstances of the times. Other parts of the hall were also handsomely adorned. The desire to hear Mr. Phillips was of the gravest and intensest character. On entering the hall, he was greeted with hearty, irrepressible rounds of applause, which were frequently repeated during the delivery of his thrilling remarks. The following selection of Scripture, from the 50th and 51st chapter of Jeremiah, was first read by him, and produced a marked sensation, in consequence of its extraordinary applicability to the state of the times in our land. It was loudly cheered at its conclusion!

"The word that the Lord spake against Babylon, and against the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet. Lo, I will raise, and cause to come up against Babylon, an assembly of great nations from the north country; and they shall set themselves in array against her; from thence she shall be taken: their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man; none shall return in vain. And Chaldea shall be a spoil: all that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about: all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows; for she hath sinned against the Lord. Shout against her round about; her foundations are fallen, her walls are thrown down; for it is the vengeance of the Lord: take vengeance upon her: as she hath done, do unto her.

A sound of battle is in the land, and of great destruction. The Lord hath opened his armory, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation: for this is the work of the Lord God of hosts in the land of the Chaldeans. Woe unto them! for their day is come, the time of their visitation.

Behold, I am against thee, O thou most proud, saith the Lord God of hosts: for thy day is come, the time that I will visit thee. And the most proud shall stumble and fall, and none shall raise him up: and I will kindle a fire in his cities, and it shall devour all round about him.

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The children of Israel and the children of Judea were oppressed together; and all that took them captives held them fast, and refused to let them go. Their Redeemer is strong; the Lord of hosts is his name; he shall thoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land, and disquiet the inhabitants of Babylon.

A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men. A sword is upon the liars, and they shall dote; a sword is upon her mighty men, and they shall be dismayed; a sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her; and they shall become as women; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols. Thus the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans, and they that are thrust through in her streets. For Israel hath not been forsaken, nor Judah of his God; though their land was filled with sin against the Holy One of Israel.

Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul; be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompense. We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country; for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.

One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, and that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor; it is time to thresh her. The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and, My blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say. Then the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon: for the spoilers shall come unto her from the north, saith the Lord."

DISCOURSE OF MR. PHILLIPS.

"Therefore thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."—Jer. 34: 17.

Many times this winter, here and elsewhere, I have counselled peace—urged, as well as I knew how, the expediency of acknowledging a Southern Confederacy, and the peaceful separation of these thirty-four States. One of the journals announces to you that I come here this morning to retract those opinions. No, not one of them! (Applause.) I need them all—every word I have spoken this winter—every act of twenty-five years of my life, to make the welcome I give this war hearty and hot. Civil war is a momentous evil. It needs the soundest, most solemn justification. I rejoice before God to-day for every word that I have spoken counselling peace; and I rejoice with an especially profound gratitude, that for the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war. (Enthusiastic cheering.) No matter what the past has been or said; to-day the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption. (Applause.) Hitherto, it may have meant what you thought, or what I did; to-day, it represents Sovereignty and Justice. (Renewed applause.) The only mistake that I have made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton dust and cankered with gold. (Loud cheering.) The South thought her patience and generous willingness for peace were cowardice; to-day shows the mistake. She has been sleeping on her arms since '76, and the first cannon-shot brings her to her feet with the war-cry of the Revolution on her lips. (Loud cheers.) Any man who loves either liberty or manhood must rejoice at such an hour. (Applause.)

Let me tell you the path by which I, at least, have trod my way up to this conclusion. I do not acknowledge the motto, in its full significance, "Our country, right or wrong." If you let it trespass on the domain of morals, it is knavish and atheistic. But there is a full, broad sphere for loyalty; and no war-cry ever stirred a generous people that had not in it much of truth and right. It is sublime, this rally of a great people to the defence of what they think their national honor! A "noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man from sleep, and shaking her invincible locks." Just now, we saw her "reposing, peaceful and motionless; but at the call of patriotism, she ruffles, as it were, her swelling plumage, collects her scattered elements of strength, and awakens her dormant thunders."

But how do we justify this last appeal to the God of Battles? Let me tell you how I do. I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted sometimes whether he were really the head of the government. To-day he is at any rate Commander-in-chief.

The delay in the action of Government has doubtless been necessity, but policy also. Traitors within and without made it hesitate to move till it had tried the machine of Government just given it. But delay was wise, as it matured a public opinion definite, decisive, and ready to keep step to the music of the Government march. The very postponement of another session of Congress till July 4th plainly invites discussion—evidently contemplates the ripening of public opinion in the interval. Fairly to examine public affairs, and prepare a community wise to coöperate with the Government, is the duty of every pulpit and every press.

Plain words, therefore, now before the nation goes mad with excitement, is every man's duty. Every public meeting in Athens was opened with a curse on any one who should not speak what he really thought. "I have never defiled my conscience from fear or favor to my superiors," was part of the oath every Egyptian soul was supposed to utter in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, before admission to heaven. Let us show, to-day, a Christian spirit as sincere and fearless. No mobs in this hour of victory, to silence those whom events have not converted. We are strong enough to tolerate dissent. That flag which floats over press or mansion at the bidding of a mob, disgraces both victor and victim.

All winter long, I have acted with that party which cried for peace. The anti-slavery enterprise to which I belong, started with peace written on its banner. We imagined that the age of bullets was over; that the age of ideas had come; that thirty millions of people were able to take a great question, and decide it by the conflict of opinions; and, without letting the ship of State founder, lift four millions of men into Liberty and Justice. We thought that if your statesmen would throw away personal ambition and party watchwords, and devote themselves to the great issue, this might be accomplished. To a certain extent, it has been. The North has answered to the call. Year after year, event by event, has indicated the rising education of the people,—the readiness for a higher moral life, the patience that waits for a neighbor's conversion. The North has responded to the call of that peaceful, moral, intellectual agitation which the anti-slavery idea has initiated. Our mistake, if any, has been that we counted too much on the intelligence of the masses, on the honesty and wisdom of statesmen as a class. Perhaps we did not give weight enough to the fact we saw, that this nation is made up of different ages; not homogeneous, but a mixed mass of different centuries. The North *thinks*—can appreciate argument—is the nineteenth century—hardly any struggle left in it but that between the working class and the money kings. The South *dreams*—it is the thirteenth and fourteenth century—baron and serf—noble and slave. Jack Cade and Wat Tyler loom over the horizon, and the serf rising calls for another Thierry to record his struggle. There the fagot still burns, which the Doctors of the Sorbonne called, ages ago, "the best light to guide the erring." There men are tortured for opinions, the only punishment the Jesuits were willing their pupils should look on. This is, perhaps, too flattering a picture of the South. Better call her, as Sumner does, "the Barbarous States." Our struggle, therefore, is no struggle between different ideas, but between barbarism and civilization. Such can only be settled by arms. (Prolonged cheering.) The Government have waited until its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity; but the cannon shot against Fort Sumter has opened the only door out of this hour. There were but two. One was Compromise; the other was Battle. The integrity of the North closed the first; the generous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon shot, and Lincoln shows himself at the door. (Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.) The war, then, is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylæ of Liberty and Justice. (Applause.) Rather than surrender it, cover every square foot of it with a living body (loud cheers); crowd it with a million of men, and empty every bank vault at the North to pay the cost. (Renewed cheering.) Teach the world once for all, that North America belongs to the stars and stripes, and under them no man shall wear a chain. (Enthusiastic cheering.) In the whole of this conflict, I have looked only at Liberty—only at the slave. Perry entered the battle of the Lakes, with "Don't give up the ship," floating from the mast-head of the Lawrence. When with his fighting flag he left her crippled, heading north, and mounting the deck of the Niagara, turned her bows due west, he did all for one purpose,—to rake the decks of the foe. Acknowledge secession, or cannonade it, I care not which; but "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Loud cheers.)

I said, civil war needs momentous and solemn justification. Europe, the world, may claim of us, that before we blot the nineteenth century by an appeal to arms, we shall exhaust every concession, try every means to keep the peace; otherwise, an appeal to the God of Battles is an insult to the civilization of our age; it is a confession that our culture and our religion are superficial, if not a failure. I think that the history of the nation and of the Government both, is an ample justification to our own times and to history for this appeal to arms. I think the South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right. (Prolonged cheering.) Let me tell you why. For thirty years, the North has exhausted conciliation and compromise. They have tried every expedient, they have relinquished every right, they have sacrificed every interest, they have smothered keen sensibility to national honor, and Northern weight and supremacy in the Union; have forgotten they were the majority in numbers and in wealth, in education and strength; have left the helm of Government and the dictation of policy to the Southern States. For all this, the conflict waxed closer and hotter. The Administration that preceded this was full of traitors and thieves. It allowed the arms, ships, money, military stores of the North to be stolen with impunity. Mr. Lincoln took office, robbed of all the means to defend the constitutional rights of the Government. He offered to withdraw from the walls of Sumter everything but the flag. He allowed secession to surround it with the strongest forts which military science could build. The North offered to meet in Convention her sister States, and arrange the terms of peaceful separation. Strength and right yielded everything—they folded their hands—waited the returning reason of the mad insurgents. Week after week elapsed, month after month went by, waiting for the sober second thought of two millions and a half of people. The world saw the sublime sight of nineteen millions of wealthy, powerful, united citizens allowing their flag to be insulted, their rights assailed, their sovereignty defied and broken in pieces, and yet waiting, with patient, brotherly, magnanimous kindness, until insurrection having spent its fury should reach out its hand for a peaceful arrangement. Men began to call it cowardice, on the one hand; and we, who watched closely the crisis, feared that this effort to be magnanimous would demoralize the conscience and the courage of the North. We were afraid that, as the hour went by, the virtue of the people, white-heat as it stood on the 4th day of March, would be cooled by the temptations, by the suspense, by the want and suffering that were stalking from the Atlantic to the valley of the Mississippi. We were afraid the Government would wait too long, and find, at last, that instead of a united people, they were deserted, and left alone to meet the foe.

All this time, the South knew, recognized, by her own knowledge of Constitutional questions, that the Government could not advance one inch towards acknowledging secession; that when Abraham Lincoln swore to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, he was bound to die under the flag on Fort Sumter, if necessary. (Loud applause.) They knew, therefore, that the call on the Administration to acknowledge the Commissioners of the Confederacy was a delusion and a swindle. I know the whole argument for secession. Up to a certain extent, I accede to it. But no administration that is not traitor, can ever acknowledge secession. (Cheers.) The right of a State to secede, under the Constitution of the United States—it is an absurdity; and Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, has a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States. (Loud cheers.) The right of a State to secede, as a revolutionary right, is undeniable; but it is the nation that is to recognize that; and the nation offered, in broad convention, at the suggestion of Kentucky, to meet the question. The offer was declined. The Government and the nation, therefore, are all right. (Applause.) They are right on constitutional law; they are right on the principles of the Declaration of Independence. (Cheers.)

Let me explain this more fully, for this reason; because—and I thank God for it, every American should be proud of it—you cannot maintain a war in the United States of America against a constitutional or a revolutionary right. The people of these States have too large brains and too many ideas to fight blindly—to lock horns like a couple of beasts in the sight of the world. (Applause.) Cannon think in this 19th century; and you must put the North in the right—wholly, undeniably, inside of the Constitution and out of it—before you can justify her in the face of the world; before you can pour Massachusetts like an avalanche through the streets of Baltimore, (great cheering,) and carry Lexington and the 19th of April south of Mason and Dixon's Line. (Renewed cheering.) Let us take an honest pride in the fact that our Sixth Regiment made a way for itself through Baltimore, and were the first to reach the threatened Capital. In the war of opinions, Massachusetts has a right to be the first in the field.

I said I knew the whole argument for secession. Very briefly let me state the points. No government provides for its own death; therefore there can be no constitutional right to secede. But there is a revolutionary right. The Declaration of Independence establishes what the heart of every American acknowledges, that the people—mark you! the people!—have always an inherent, paramount, inalienable right to change their governments, whenever they think---whenever *they* think, that it will minister to their happiness. That is a revolutionary right. Now, how did South Carolina and Massachusetts come into the Union? They came into it by a convention representing the people. South Carolina alleges that she has gone out by convention. So far, right. She says that when the *people* take the State rightfully out of the Union, the right to forts and national property goes with it. Granted. She says, also, that it is no matter that we bought Louisiana of France, and Florida of Spain. No bargain made, no money paid betwixt us and France or Spain could rob Florida or Louisiana of her right to remodel her government whenever the people found it would be for their happiness. So far, right. The People---mark you! South Carolina presents herself to the Administration at Washington, and says, "There is a vote of my convention, that I go out of the Union." "I cannot see you," says Abraham Lincoln. [Loud cheers.] "As President, I have no eyes but constitutional eyes; I cannot see you." [Renewed cheers.] He was right. But Madison said, Hamilton said, the Fathers said, in '89, "No man but an enemy of liberty will ever stand on technicalities and forms, when the essence is in question." Abraham Lincoln could not see the Commissioners of South Carolina, but the North could; the nation could; and the nation responded, "If you want a Constitutional Secession, such as you claim, but which I repudiate, I will waive forms---let us meet in convention, and we will arrange it." [Applause.] Surely, while one claims a right within the Constitution, it may without dishonor or inconsistency meet in convention---even if finally refusing to be bound by it. To decline doing so is only evidence of intention to provoke war. Everything under that instrument is peace. Everything under that instrument may be changed by a National Convention. The South says, "No!" She says, "If you don't allow me the Constitutional right, I claim the revolutionary right." The North responds---"When you have torn the Constitution into fragments, I recognize the right of the people of South Carolina to model their government. Yes, I recognize the right of the three hundred and eighty-four thousand white men, and four hundred and eighty-four thousand black men to model their Constitution. Show me one that they have adopted, and I will recognize the revolution. [Cheers.] But the moment you tread outside of the Constitution, the black man is not three-fifths of a man---he is a whole one" [Loud cheering.] Yes, the South has a right to secede; the South has a right to model her government; and the moment she shows us four million of black votes thrown even against it, I will acknowledge the Declaration of Independence is complied with, [loud applause]—that the people, south of Mason's and Dixon's Line, have re-modeled their government to suit themselves: and our function is only to recognize it.

I say, the North had a right to assume this position. She did not. She had a right to ignore revolution until this condition was complied with; and she did not. She waived it. In obedience to the advice of Madison, to the long history of her country's forbearance, to the magnanimity of nineteen States, she waited: she advised the Government to wait. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural, indicated that this would be the wise course. Mr. Seward hinted it in his speech, in New York. The *London Times* bade us remember the useless war of 1776, and take warning against resisting the principles of Popular Sovereignty. The *Tribune*, whose unflinching fidelity and matchless ability make it, in this fight, "the white plume of Navarre," has again and again avowed its readiness to waive forms and go into Convention. We have waited. We said, "Anything for peace." We obeyed the magnanimous statesmanship of John Quincy Adams. Let me read you his advice, given at the "Jubilee of the Constitution," to the New-York Historical Society, in the year 1839: he says, Recognizing this right of the *people* of a State,—mark you, not a State: the Constitution knows no States; the right of revolution knows no States: it knows only the people. Mr. Adams says, "The people of each State in the Union have a right to secede from the confederated Union itself.

Thus stands the right. But the indissoluble link of union between the people of the several States of this Confederated Nation is, after all, not in the *right*, but in the *heart*.

If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it) when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other, when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, the bands of political association will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship from each other, than to be held together by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to the precedents which occurred at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more perfect union, by dissolving that which could no longer bind; and to leave the separated parts to be reunited by the law of political gravitation to the center."

The North said "Amen" to every word of it. They waited. They begged the States to meet them. They were silent when the cannon-shot pierced the flag of the "Star of the West." They said "Amen," when the Government offered to let nothing but the bunting cover Fort Sumpter. They said "Amen," when Lincoln stood alone, without arms, in a defenceless Capital, and trusted himself to the loyalty and forbearance of thirty-four States.

The South, if the truth be told, *cannot* wait. Like all usurpers, they dare not give time for the people to criticise their title to power. War and tumult must conceal the irregularity of their civil course, and smother discontent and criticism at the same time. Besides, bankruptcy at home can live out its short term of possible existence only by conquest on land and piracy at sea. And, further, only by war, by appeal to popular frenzy, can they hope to delude the border States to join them. War is the breath of their life.

To-day, therefore, the question is, by the voice of the South, "Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent?" And the North says, "From the gulf to the pole, the Stars and Stripes shall atone to four million of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave." [Enthusiastic and long continued cheers.]

There is only one thing that those cannon shot in the harbor of Charleston settled, and that is, that there never can be a compromise. [Loud applause.] We Abolitionists have doubted whether this Union really meant Justice and Liberty. We have doubted the honest intention of nineteen million of people. They have said, in answer to our criticism,—"We believe that the Fathers meant to establish justice. We believe that there are hidden in the Armory of the Constitution weapons strong enough to secure it. We are willing yet to try the experiment. Grant us time." We have doubted, derided the pretence, as we supposed. During these long and weary weeks, we have waited to hear the Northern conscience assert its purpose. It comes at last. [An impressive pause.] Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavements of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves. [Loud cheers.]

You and I owe it to those young martyrs, you and I owe it, that their blood shall be the seed of no mere empty triumph, but that the negro shall teach his children to bless them for centuries to come. [Applause.] When Massachusetts goes down to that Carolina fort to put the Stars and Stripes again over its blackened walls, [enthusiasm,] she will sweep from its neighborhood every institution that hazards their ever bowing again to the Palmetto. [Loud cheers.] All of you may not mean it now. Our fathers did not think in 1775 of the Declaration of Independence. The Long Parliament never thought of the scaffold of Charles the First, when they entered on the struggle; but having begun, they made thorough work. [Cheers.] It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—Slow to fight, and fight once. [Renewed cheers.] It was a holy war, that for Independence: this is a holier and the last—that for Liberty. [Loud applause.]

I hear a great deal about Constitutional liberty. The mouths of the Concord and Lexington guns have room only for one word, and that is Liberty. You might as well ask Niagara to chaunt the Chicago Platform, as to say how far war shall go. War and Niagara thunder to a music of their own. God alone can launch the lightning, that they may go and say, Here we are. The thunder-bolts of His throne abase the proud, lift up the lowly, and execute justice between man and man.

Now, let me turn one moment to another consideration. What should the Government do? I said "thorough" should be its maxim. When we fight, we are fighting for Justice and an Idea. A short war and a rigid one, is the maxim. Ten thousand men in Washington! it is only a bloody fight. Five hundred thousand men in Washington, and none dare come there but from the North. [Loud cheers.] Occupy St. Louis, with the millions of the West, and say to Missouri, "You cannot go out!" [Applause.] Cover Maryland with a million of the friends of the administration, and say, "We must have our Capital within reach. [Cheers.] If you need compensation for Slaves taken from you in the convulsion of battle, here it is. [Cheers.] Government is engaged in the fearful struggle to show that 89 meant Justice, and there is something better than life in such an hour as this." And, again, we must remember another thing—the complication of such a struggle as this. Bear with me a moment. We put five hundred thousand men on the banks of the Potomac. Virginia is held by two races, white and black. Suppose those black men flare in our faces the Declaration of Independence. What are we to say? Are we to send Northern bayonets to keep Slaves under the feet of Jefferson Davis? [Many voices, "no," "never."] In 1842, Gov. Wise, of Virginia, the symbol of the South, entered into argument with Quincy Adams, who carried Plymouth Rock to Washington. [Applause.] It was when Joshua Giddings offered his resolution stating his Constitutional doctrine that Congress had no right to interfere, in any event, in any way, with the Slavery of the Southern States. Plymouth Rock refused to vote for it. Mr. Adams said, (substantially,) "If foreign war comes, if civil war comes, i insurrection comes, is this beleaguered Capital, is this besieged Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No; the war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf." [Cheers.] Ever since 1842, that statesman-like claim and warning of the North has been on record, spoken by the lips of her most moderate, wisest, coolest, most patriotic son. [Applause.]

When the South cannonaded Fort Sumpter the bones of Adams stirred in his coffin. [Cheers.] And you might have heard him, from that granite grave, at Quincy, proclaim to the nation, "The hour has struck! Seize the thunder-bolt God has forged for you, and annihilate the system which has troubled peace for seventy years!" [Cheers.] Do not say that it is a cold-blooded suggestion. I hardly ever knew Slavery go down in any other circumstances. Only once, in the broad sweep of the world's history, was any nation lifted so high that she could stretch her imperial hand across the Atlantic, and lift, by one peaceful word, a million of slaves into liberty. God granted that glory only to our mother land.

How did French Slavery go down? How did the French Slave-trade go down? When Napoleon came back from Elba, when his fate hung trembling in the balance, and he wished to gather around him the sympathies of the liberals of Europe, he no sooner set foot in the Tuilleries than he signed the edict abolishing the Slave-trade, against which the Abolitionists of England and France had protested for twenty years in vain. And the trade went down, because Napoleon felt that he must do something to gild the darkening hour of his second attempt to clutch the sceptre of France. How did the Slave-system go down? When, in 1848, the Provisional Government found itself in the Hotel de Ville, obliged to do something to draw to itself the sympathy and liberal feeling of the French nation, they signed an edict—it was the first from the rising republic—abolishing the death-penalty and Slavery. The storm which rocked the vessel of State almost to foundering, snapped forever the chain of the French slave. Look, too, at the history of Mexican and South American emancipation; you will find that it was, in every instance, I think, the child of convulsion.

That hour has come to us. So stand we to-day. The Abolitionist who will not now cry, when the moment serves, "Up, boys, and at them," is false to liberty. [Great cheering.] [A voice—"So is every other man."] Say not it is a hard lesson. Let him who fully knows his own heart and strength, and feels, as he looks down into his child's cradle, that he could stand and see that little nestling borne to Slavery, and submit—let him cast the first stone. But all you, whose blood is wont to stir over Naseby and Bunker Hill, will hold your peace, unless you are ready to cry with me—*Sic semper Tyrannis!* So may it ever be with Tyrants! [Loud applause.]

Why, Americans, I believe in the might of nineteen million of people. Yes, I know that what sowing machines and reaping machines and ideas and types and school-houses cannot do, the muskets of Illinois and Massachusetts can finish up. [Cheers.] Blame me not that I make every thing turn on liberty and the slave. I believe in Massachusetts. I know that free speech, free toil, school-houses, and ballot-boxes are a pyramid on its broadest base. Nothing that does not sunder the solid globe can disturb it. We defy the world to disturb us. [Cheers.] The little errors that dwell upon our surface, we have medicine in our institutions to cure them all. [Applause.]

Therefore there is nothing left for a New England man, nothing but that he shall wipe away the stain that hangs about the toleration of human bondage. As Webster said at Rochester, years and years ago, "If I thought that there was a stain upon the remotest hem of the garment of my country, I would devote my utmost labor to wipe it off." [Cheers.] To-day that call is made upon Massachusetts. That is the reason why I dwell so much on the Slavery question. I said I believed in the power of the North to conquer; but where does she get it. I do not believe in the power of the North to subdue two million and a half of southern men, unless she summons justice, God, and the negro to her side; [Cheers] and in that battle we are sure of this---we are sure to rebuild the Union down to the Gulf. [Renewed cheering.] In that battle, with that watchword, with those allies, the thirteen States and their children will survive---in the light of the world, a nation which has vindicated the sincerity of the Fathers of '87, that they bore children, and not pedlars, to represent them in the nineteenth century. [Repeated cheers.] But without that---without that, I know also, we shall conquer. Sumpter annihilated compromise. Nothing but victory will blot from history that sight of the Stars and Stripes giving place to the Palmetto. But without justice for inspiration, without God for our ally, we shall break the Union asunder; we shall be a confederacy, and so will they. This war means one of two things----Emancipation or Disunion. [Cheers.] Out of the smoke of the conflict there comes that---nothing else. It is impossible there should come anything else. Now, I believe in the future and permanent union of the races that cover this continent from the Pole down to the Gulf. One in race, one in history, one in religion, one in industry, one in thought, we never can be permanently separated. Your path, if you forget the black race, will be over the gulf of Disunion,—years of unsettled, turbulent, Mexican and South American civilization, back through that desert of forty years to the Union which is sure to come.

But I believe in a deeper conscience, I believe in a North more educated than that. I divide you into four sections. The first is the ordinary mass, rushing from mere enthusiasm to

"A battle whose great aim and scope
They little care to know,
Content like men-at-arms to cope,
Each with his fronting foe."

Behind that class stands another, whose only idea in this controversy is sovereignty and the flag. The seaboard, the wealth, the just-converted hunkerism of the country, fill that class. Next to it stands the third element, the people; the cordwainers of Lynn, the farmer of Worcester, the dwellers on the prairie---Iowa and Wisconsin, Ohio and Maine---the broad surface of the people who have no leisure for technicalities, who never studied law, who never had time to read any further into the Constitution than the first two lines---"Establish *Justice* and secure *Liberty*." They have waited long enough; they have eaten dirt enough; they have apologized for bankrupt statesmen enough; they have quieted their consciences enough; they have split logic with their Abolition neighbors long enough; they are tired of trying to find a place between the forty-ninth and forty-eighth corner of a Constitutional hair, [laughter;] and now that they have got their hand on the neck of a rebellious aristocracy, in the name of the people, they mean to strangle it. That I believe is the body of the people itself. Side by side with them stands a fourth class---small, but active---the Abolitionists, who thank God that he has let them see his salvation before they die. [Cheers.]

The noise and dust of the conflict may hide the real question at issue. Europe may think, some of us may, that we are fighting for forms and parchments, for sovereignty and a flag. But really, the war is one of opinions: it is Civilization against Barbarism: it is Freedom against Slavery. The cannon shot against Fort Sumpter was the yell of pirates against the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: the war-cry of the North is its echo. The South, defying Christianity, clutches its victim. The North offers its wealth and blood in glad atonement for the selfishness of seventy years. The result is as sure as the throne of God. I believe in the possibility of Justice, in the certainty of Union. Years hence, when the smoke of this conflict clears away, the world will see under our banner all tongues, all creeds, all races---one brotherhood---and on the banks of the Potomac, the Genius of Liberty, robed in light, four-and-thirty stars for her diadem, broken chains under feet, and an olive-branch in her right hand. [Great applause.]

HYMNS FOR THE TIMES.

The following strikingly appropriate Hymns were read at the services at Music Hall, on Sunday last, in connection with the delivery of Mr. Phillips's speech:

I.

There's a strife we all must wage,
From life's entrance to its close:
Blest the bold who dare engage!
Woe for him who seeks repose!

Honored they who firmly stand,
While the conflict presses round;
God's own banner in their hand,
In his service faithful found.

What our foes? Each thought impure;
Passions fierce, that tear the soul;
Every ill that we can cure;
Every crime we can control;

Every suffering which our hand
Can with soothing care assuage;
Every evil of our land;
Every error of our age.

On, then, to the glorious field!
He who dies, his life shall save;
God himself shall be our shield,
He shall bless and crown the brave.

II.

Lord, once our faith in man no fear could move;
Now save it from despair!
The trial comes; strengthen the might of love:
Father, Thou hearest prayer!

Thou hearest; and we hear, above this din,
Thy blessed word sound clear:
"I purge this land from slavery and sin;
The reign of heaven draws near."

O, never falter! peace must come by pain;
Heaven is not found, but won;
Hold the dark angel till he moulds again
The peace he hath undone.

We know not, Lord, what storms and trials strong
Must work our world's new birth;
But we will toil, with this for working-song,—
"Peace to the weary earth!"

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1861.

THE ANNUAL MEETING POSTPONED.

In view of the unparalleled excitement now existing throughout the country, arising from the treasonable attempt of the Southern slave oligarchy to overturn the General Government, and to erect an exclusively slaveholding despotism upon its ruins, to the overthrow of all free institutions, it is deemed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society a measure of sound expediency to postpone the usual anniversary of the Society, in the city of New York, in May next, until further notice—a decision which they are confident will be most cordially ratified by the members and friends of the Society; especially in view of the cheering fact that there is at last a North as well as a South, and that the present tremendous conflict is in its tendencies strongly and irresistibly toward the goal of universal emancipation, or else a separation between the free and slaveholding States, in accordance with the principle of "No Union with Slaveholders!" Let nothing be done, at this solemn crisis, needlessly to check or divert the mighty current of popular feeling which is now sweeping southward with the strength and impetuosity of a thousand Niagaras, in direct conflict with that haughty and perfidious Slave Power which has so long ruled the republic with a rod of iron for its own base and satanic purposes.

The annual meeting of the Society stands postponed until further notice.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.
Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, } *Secretaries*.

THE COUNTRY IN A FLAME!

The whole country is intensely hot with the conflagration of civil war, on a scale such as, perhaps, the world has never seen. It is the legitimate product of that most bloody and incendiary system, Southern chattel slavery, which, after two centuries of toleration, retributively culminates in the dissolution of the Union, and the fierce array of the South against the North in deadly strife on the battle-field, in accordance with the Divine Law of Justice. All this would have been spared if, at any antecedent period, liberty had been "proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Well may the abolitionists echo the words of the prophet—"We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed." Insanely bent on universal dominion, the dealers in human flesh, the enslavers of the poor and needy, having lost the control of the General Government, are now seeking its extirpation, sword in hand and at the cannon's mouth! No other alternative is left the Government, therefore, than either to be driven from the Capital, or to maintain unflinchingly its constitutional sovereignty. In support of it, there is such an uprising in every city, town and hamlet at the North—without distinction of sect or party—as to seem like a general resurrection from the dead! The sound of the recruiting drum and fife are every where heard, and volunteers are rushing to the conflict by tens of thousands, which will soon be increased to hundreds of thousands, in addition to the regular troops—all feeling that the time for a final settlement has come! Patriotic meetings are held without number, and there is no lack of men or money—no less than the enormous sum of three hundred millions of dollars having already been offered in various loans to the Government. In all directions the "stars and stripes" are displayed with a prodigality never before witnessed even on the Fourth of July.

So mighty and irresistible is the popular feeling, that nothing can stand before it. Those who have stood by the South, and tried to continue its supremacy over the North in every possible way, are now many of them the loudest in denunciation of their recent allies, and the fiercest to meet them on the battle-field! Even Mayor Wightman, and Richard S. Fay, and J. Murray Howe, and George Lunt, and J. Thos. Stevenson, and Rev. Nehemiah Adams, *et id omne genus*, are all in for a death-grapple with the conspirators! Neutrality will not be tolerated. The change in Northern feeling since the capture of Fort Sumter is total, wonderful, indescribable—uniting the most discordant, and reconciling the most estranged.

OUR DUTY.

In the creed of all democrats, in all ages, underneath all other rights, deep down at the foundation of political theory, lies the right of revolution. It is a sacred and a fearful right. He who uses it does so at the expense of all others. He risks all that can be risked. He incurs all responsibility that can be incurred. When, "in the course of human events," is the use of this right legitimate? First and most evidently when no other rights are available. This is the case of the slave. Starting from this extreme, and reviewing all other human situations, the right of revolution seems less clear; and, though it can never be lost sight of, yet it remains a limit which society may sometimes approach, but very rarely attain. We draw near to the right of revolution when other rights are extensively invaded, when free institutions are taken away, when oppression is sanctioned and legalized. But as we near the fearful limit, our responsibilities so increase that the most severe rules of rectitude are scarcely equal to the demands of our position. The least taint of selfishness or ambition vitiates all. Violence, and over-haste, that might, in other situations, be pardonable, cannot be allowed in this.

The peculiar circumstances of the Abolitionists have made them comparatively safe in approaching the right of revolution. Their cause was necessarily disinterested, and its advocates, standing as one against a thousand, were necessarily saved from errors of violence. Notwithstanding these safeguards, the founders of our enterprise still thought it needful to lay as a corner-stone the principle, that moral and peaceful means alone should be used. Thus prudently did those who were to lead their age first solemnly bind themselves by the strictest moral rule.

What now is the "Right of Secession"? First, it is in itself a lie. There is no such right, legal or natural. It cannot be natural, since it implies particular artificial institutions. It cannot be legal, for it is necessarily subversive of all government.

Again, it is a malignant and dangerous lie. The insidious counterfeit of a truth, it deceives with the specious semblance of liberty and independence to lure its victims into the gulph of anarchy and despotism.

Lastly, it is a lie, without excuse or palliation—a vile mask whereby to clutch at despotism under pretence of securing liberty. To compare our approach to the right of revolution with the impious attempt to realize that 'guilty phantasy," the "Right of Secession," is to confound the plainest principles of morals, and argues either indifferent ignorance, or intentional calumny.

But no more of abstract distinctions. I crave pardon of the grand and awful present if, at this time of deeds, I have wasted a moment with words. What is our situation? Simply this—parties and political creeds have died suddenly, and have been buried in oblivion in less time than is given the frail human body to disappear from the face of the earth. War is an accomplished fact. What war? A war of institutions—a war not for our homes alone, but for all that makes home valuable, for the accumulated knowledge of centuries, for the applied treasures of science, literature and art, for democratic institutions with all their rights, even the abstract right of revolution, for the civilization of the nineteenth century.

What mean the barbarous emblems of rebellion—the rattlesnakes, pelicans and cabbage-trees? They mean the relapse to a state of barbarism, the maintenance and the spread of despotism—ignorance—slavery—the period of the darkest middle ages, or the meridian of Dahomy.

What mean the Stars and Stripes? They mean our homes and firesides, our charities and our schools, our railways and our telegrapsh, all the work of our heart, our brain, our hands. They mean intelligent freedom, liberty of conscience and of action—"free speech, free press, free soil, free men."

What then is our duty? This—with all our hearts to sustain the flag, the war, the Government. Does any one say, "The Union is a dishonored name—the flag has become the protector of slave-ships"? Then all the more sustain the war, that the Union may have new and better life, that the flag may float over a nation of freemen. Is it answered that many do not seek that issue for the war? Then all the more let us who do seek it seize the golden moment, and turn the rushing torrent into a perennial river of peace and freedom.

Look at what is now within our reach. The past, with all its trammels and snares, is no more. All compacts and compromises have been forfeited and broken by those in whose interest they were made. The war has come to pass. The money-less which frightened the timid and mercenary is incurred. The future is ours to mould it as we will. Peace and freedom await our victorious arms. Between us and that happy state lie toil and pain and want, and over all hovers the angel of death. Shall we hesitate? No, by all of good we ever learned or thought, by the teachings and the example of saints gone from us, by their lives and by their deaths, we will be true to this hour, we will be diligent in this work, that, in the end, we may have substantial peace, not volcanic repression,—constitutional liberty, not confederate license.

"*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.*"

CHARLES FOLLEN.

Brookline, (Mass.) April 25, 1861.

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

RURAL, (Ill.) April 14, 1861.

DEAR SIR—I make no objection to the publication of my private letter in the *Liberator* of the 5th inst.; but I do object to the issue which you, most assuredly from a misconception of my language, attempt to make out of it to my prejudice.

Upon mature reflection, both you and your unprejudiced readers cannot fail to see that I made no attempt whatever "to transmute" any acts of the seceding States "into justifiable deeds." On the contrary, my position was strictly a negative one. The issue which I made with your editorial leader was not whether the seceding States were guilty of your several specifications, but simply whether, viewed from the American, instead of the European or "old fogie" stand-point, the denial, "that the seceding States have perpetrated treason," justly subjects me, or any other man, to the charge of being "*a traitor at heart*"?

You have "weighed every word, and have nothing to alter or retract." Most assuredly, then, you arrive at this conclusion from a misconception of my letter.

Now, if the readers of your able, fearless and truly independent journal, (whose weekly visits, like those of the *Standard*, the *Bugle*, and the *Principia*, are always welcome,) will read my letter carefully, they cannot fail to see that I did not even express or imply the slightest approval of secession. And why? Because, being a "Radical Abolitionist," secession, in my view, cuts off the only hope for a peaceful termination of slavery.

You say that my letter "indicates a heated state of mind." This may be true as regards the last sentence which it contains. For I frankly grant that it was no sooner out of my reach, than I *was* sorry to have penned it, because, conscious that it *might* be ungenerous, if not unjust to you. But you say, that "there is no justification" for the warmth of my expression. In my view, there was ample justification. My lot has been cast in a community in which the very highest type of anti-slavery is to laud the Declaration of Independence, and exclaim, "I am just as much opposed to slavery as Wm. Lloyd Garrison or Gerrit Smith," and then to back this assumption by denouncing John Brown and the secessionists as traitors, voting for "slave-catching" Democratic or Republican Presidents, defending the black laws of Illinois, and conceding to the States, "*as essential to the perfection and endurance of our political fabric*," the RIGHT to hold slaves, while ignoring, as the most diabolical political heresy, their right to secede. In such a community, consistency, in an out-spoken abolitionist, is, if not a virtue, at least a necessity.

In 1857, I received a printed "Call" from the Committee of Arrangements, of which you were a member, for a Disunion Convention to come off in Cleveland, Ohio. Your Secretary requested me to sign this "Call," and to procure as many names as possible. But there were no "traitors" in this county. Solitarily and alone, I signed and returned this "Call."

For this act, I was denounced as an ungrateful traitor to the country that, with open arms, *adopted* me as a citizen, and welcomed me to an equality of rights with those born upon the soil.

In 1861, you, who aided in getting up this "Convention of traitors," as it was universally termed, indirectly denounce me as "a traitor at heart," because, forsooth, I cannot conscientiously "brand secession as the blackest treason."

In conclusion, I ask you, as an act of sheer justice, to publish a few essays, cut from the Anti-Slavery *Bugle*, which will enable your readers to determine who exhibits the greatest "confusion of mind," the advocates or the opponents of Mr. Jefferson's theory of our complex, yet simple, system of Federal and State Governments.

Yours for humanity, B. G. WRIGHT.

W. L. GARRISON.

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REPLY. We assure our esteemed correspondent that we had not the remotest idea of casting an imputation upon his philanthropy or his patriotism, in our editorial comments upon Southern secessionists, to which he took exception; for, though we have not the privilege of a personal acquaintance with him, we know enough of his anti-slavery zeal and labors to feel assured that, in spirit and purpose, the cause of equal liberty has no truer or more devoted friend in the land than himself. Our condemnation was intended specially and exclusively for those of the Bell-Everett and Democratic parties, who, while pretending to adore the Union, and to deplore its overthrow, were constantly assailing the new administration in the bitterest manner, denouncing any and every effort to enforce the laws and protect the national property, strongly sympathizing with and apologizing for the traitors, and plotting with them for the overthrow of the government by the substitution of that of Jefferson Davis. Admitting, as our correspondent frankly does, that the seceding States are guilty of our several specifications, we respectfully submit that he is precluded, by equity and historical verity, from making an appeal to the Declaration of Independence, either in defence or in extenuation of their secession. For whether it be looked at from an "American" or "European" stand-point—in the abstract or in the concrete—it is utterly indefensible, and constitutes unprovoked rebellion and "the blackest treason." There is no example for it in human history, no justification of it in the democratic theory of revolution as set forth in 1776. Nor does it bear any analogy whatever to the Disunion movement of the Abolitionists, either in spirit, principle, design, method, or ground of defence. They are heaven-wide asunder.

We did not understand the letter of our friend to be simply for our private perusal, but supposed he wished it to appear in the *Liberator*.

If our columns were not so overwhelmed with matter at this time, we would readily publish the printed essays he sends to us; though we do not see that we are bound to do this, "as an act of sheer justice" to the writer, for we have not alluded to them in the *Liberator*.—[ED. LIB.

SOUTHERN SECESSION INDEFENSIBLE.

EARLVILLE, LaSalle Co., Ill., April 16, 1861.

DEAR MR. GARRISON,—The question which has been raised between yourself and the *Bugle*, and B. G. Wright, of Rural, Ill., in regard to Southern secession and rebellion, is a very important, though to me not a very difficult one. I endorse most heartily the position which you have so promptly taken, and vigorously defended. The article from the *Bugle*, in the last *Liberator*, to me is very illogical and absurd, and the letter of Mr. Wright equally so.

The logic of Mr. Wright's letter, as well as of the *Bugle's* article, is, that as Abolitionists are opposed to a pro-slavery Government; therefore, they ought to endorse a more pro-slavery rebellion against such a Government. For instance, to illustrate—Gen. Beauregard uses every means to destroy Fort Sumter while Anderson holds it against him; therefore, when Anderson surrenders, he should (if the *Bugle* is correct) use all his power to blow it to atoms, instead of quenching the flames, and intrenching himself therein. This is simply absurd. I have always denounced the United States Government because slavery was intrenched behind it; but if Slavery has forsaken the shelter under which it has reposed, let Freedom, for want of a better, intrench herself there, that Slavery may be destroyed.

When my house is in possession of an enemy, I might help riddle it with balls; but if I were in possession of it myself, it would be a very foolish work, to say the least.

I take food for the reason that I am hungry; but he would be a very unreasonable man who shall say that I must eat because I am *not* hungry.

There is a very obvious distinction, however, to be taken between what is called "The Union," the basis of which is the United States Constitution, and Executive action in a given case for the accomplishment of a specific object.

When I denounce United States Marshal Jones, of Chicago, for playing the blood-hound in catching and returning to slavery the Harris family, and call upon Mr. Lincoln, for decency's sake, to remove him from office, and put a man in his place who is not eager to over-leap and out-run the law and the obligations of his oath to accomplish an infamous purpose, do I thereby, by any fair construction, sanction and uphold a pro-slavery Union? So, when I denounce the pirates and buccaneers, (in the remarkably mild phrase of the *Bugle*, those who believe in the right of a State to secede,) of whom Jeff. Davis is the Chief, and insist that the President ought, at any cost, to subdue them, do I thereby endorse a pro-slavery Union? The thread of argument which leads to that conclusion is altogether too fine-spun for me to follow.

It is morally certain that the destruction at the cannon's mouth or by the halter, (and I care not which, but would welcome either mode,) of the piratical Slave Power, would be the destruction of slavery in this country. All far-seeing men admit this. Why, then, should not the President be most heartily sustained, by all genuine Abolitionists, in vigorous measures against "secession"? If to sustain the Government is to sustain slavery, let it be undermined by all justifiable means; but if to sustain the Government, in a given case, is to deal a heavy blow on the head of the slave system, let not the force of habit or love of a creed make us blind, so that we cannot see, or lead us captive, so that we cannot use the opportunity which we have professedly so long sought of killing slavery. If Lucifer has turned saint, or shows signs of reform, let Gabriel encourage and commend him, lest they change places. If the Federal Government at Washington is dealing, or about to deal, effectual blows against slaveholders, and indirectly, yet inevitably, against slavery itself, in the name of Freedom, let abolitionists help and encourage it in so doing, and not waste strength and time in arguing up the "right of secession," or in arguing down the "right of coercion."

As abolitionists, we have had no war with the Government but for the reason that it defended slavery. We would have had equal war with secession or disunion from the first, had it existed for slavery. It is not, therefore, Union or Disunion, *per se*, which we are to fight for or defend. When disunion is resorted to by slaveholders to defend and perpetuate their infernal business, then it is time for Abolitionists, as practical and sensible men, to go for the Government; especially when there is a certainty that a collision is to take place between the Slave Power and the Government, and that the former must go to the wall, crushed, and forever destroyed. Then let Abolitionists rejoice, and be exceeding glad! As Mr. Phillips has said, it is true, it is just what we have been working for for twenty or thirty years—a collision between Slavery and Freedom; and strange indeed it is that, when it has come, we should be so weak as to be frightened! I thank God that the breach is made, and growing wider, and I welcome the hour which shall test the power of Liberty against Slavery in arms.

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who fears to put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all."

A. J. GROVER.

LETTER FROM HON. GERRIT SMITH.

We have just received the following generous and cordial letter from Hon. GERRIT SMITH, in reply to an invitation sent to him, in behalf of the Executive Committee, to be one of the speakers at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May:—

PETERBORO', (N. Y.) April 17, 1861.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter, inviting me to be one of the speakers at the approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is very welcome. No where could I speak with more freedom than upon its catholic platform. For no other Society have I more respect than I have for that. Its steady and noble maintenance of its great principles through reproach and peril, for now nearly thirty years, has commanded my admiration and endeared it to my heart.

Very kind and highly esteemed as is your invitation, you must, nevertheless, allow me to decline it. My age, my heavy labors, and the needful care of my health since its repeated prostrations during the last three or four years, justify me in refusing to speak where there is an abundance of speakers without me. There will surely be no lack of speakers at your anniversary.

The great hope of your heart is soon to be realized. The end of American slavery is at hand. But that this end is to be in blood, is a prospect sad and appalling to the last degree.

Please put the enclosed draft for $50 into the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

I have been pained to hear from time to time within the last year of your bodily infirmities. I trust that they are passing away. You must not depart until your eyes have seen the salvation for which you have toiled longer and harder and more gloriously than any of us. Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

It will be seen, by an official notice in another column, that the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been postponed until further notice, for the reasons therein set forth.

SENTIMENTS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON UPON THE WAR.

The colored people of Boston met, on Tuesday evening, in the Twelfth Baptist Church, Southac street, to express their sentiments upon the war. Rev. J. Sella Martin was chosen Chairman, Dr. J. V. DeGrasse, and G. W. Potter were chosen Secretaries. Robert Morris, Esq., William C. Nell, and M. R. DeMortie were chosen a Committee on Resolutions.

John J. Smith said that the dawn of day was not far distant for the colored race. An American flag was brought in and cheered most vociferously. Mr. Smith said he was ready to defend the flag to the last.

The resolutions reported state that the colored people are ready to defend the Government, and the flag of the country; and are ready to raise an army of fifty thousand men, if the laws can but be altered to allow them to enlist. It was resolved that companies be immediately formed for drill.

Robert Morris advocated the resolutions in an eloquent and stirring speech. He said that if Government would only take away the disability, there was not a man who would not leap for his knapsack and musket, and they would make it intolerably hot for Old Virginia. (Great applause.)

Wm. Wells Brown opposed the resolutions. The time had not come for the colored man to volunteer. He wanted the colored man to go into the battle-field the equal of the white man. The only hope to-day for the colored man was in Jefferson Davis.

Mr. George T. Downing said he owed allegiance to this Government. It protected him, and he wanted it known that in this crisis he stood for his country. (Tremendous applause.)

Dr. J. S. Rock supported the resolution.

James Jefferson of Providence also addressed the meeting, advocating them.

CONTEMPTIBLE CONDUCT. Evidently by a common understanding among themselves, and probably by special advice, not one of the daily papers on Monday last, excepting the *Daily Advertiser*, made the slightest reference to the eloquent speech on the War delivered by Mr. Phillips on Sunday at Music Hall, though four thousand persons enthusiastically applauded it throughout, notwithstanding the sobriety attaching to the day. It is an act of unaccountable meanness. It was expressly reported in full for the *Atlas and Bee*, and yet that paper was induced to suppress it!—(how or why, who can tell?)—making only the following fling:—

"*Extremes Meet.*—Rev. Dr. Adams and Wendell Phillips, Esq., both delivered yesterday good Union, North-side addresses. Their conversions are most remarkable."

General surprise and indignation were felt at this suppression. So great has been the demand for the speech, since we put it in type, that nearly sixteen thousand copies have been called for in an extra. It is every where read with the highest gratification for its discrimination, fidelity and power.

THE BALTIMORE RIOT—A SECESSION ACCOUNT.

Yesterday morning the excitement which had been gradually rising in this city for some days with reference to the passage of Northern volunteer troops southward, reached its climax upon the arrival of the Massachusetts and other volunteers, some from Philadelphia, at President street depot, at half past ten o'clock. A large crowd had assembled, evidently to give them an unwelcome reception. The arrangements contemplated the passage of thirty-one cars occupied by the volunteers, from President street depot, to the Camden station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, over the intervening space occupied by the Pratt street track. The cars were despatched one after the other, by horses, and upon the arrival of the first car at the intersection of Gay and Pratt streets, a vast assemblage having collected there, demonstrations were made which evidently contemplated the stopping of the troops at that point. Just there, repairs of the road were in progress, and a number of paving stones were lying in heaps, which were seized by the crowd and used for purposes of assault. Six of the cars had succeeded in passing on their way before the crowd were able to accomplish their purpose of barricading the track, which they now began to effect by placing large heavy anchors lying in the vicinity directly across the rails. Some seven or eight were borne by the crowd and laid on the track, and thus the passage of the cars was effectually interrupted. Having accomplished this object, the crowd set to lustily cheering for the South, for Jefferson Davis, South Carolina and secession, and groans for sundry obnoxious parties. In the meanwhile, the troops thus delayed at the depot remained quietly in the cars until tired of their inaction, and apprehending a more formidable demonstration, they came to the conclusion to face the music and march through the city. They accordingly evacuated the cars, and rapidly gathering on the street north of the depot, formed in line and prepared to make the attempt. The word was given to "march," and the head of the line had advanced some fifteen paces when it was driven back upon the main body by the immense crowd, still further increased by a body of men who marched down to the depot bearing at their head a Confederate flag.

THE RIOT.

Eight of the cars started from the President street depot, and six passed safely to the Camden station. The other two soon returned, the track in the meantime having been obstructed at the corner of Pratt and Gay street by anchors, paving stones, sand, &c., being put on it by the crowd. Attempts had previously been made to tear up the track, but the police by strenuous efforts prevented it. A cart load of sand, which was being driven along, was seized and thrown upon the track. The bridge across Jones' Falls, on Pratt street, was also soon after barricaded with boards, &c., which were being used previously by workmen in repairing it. After considerable delay it was determined to make the attempt to march the remaining troops through the city, only about sixty of whom were supplied with arms. The remainder were recruits, and occupied second class and baggage cars. At the head of this column, on foot, Mayor Brown placed himself, and walked in front, exerting all his influence to preserve peace. Just before the movement was made from the cars, a large crowd of persons went down President street with a Southern flag, and met the troops as they emerged from the cars. The Southern flag was then carried in front of the column, and hooting and yelling began, and as soon as the troops turned out of Canton avenue, they were greeted with a volley of stones. At the corner of Fawn street two of the soldiers were struck with stones, and knocked down; one of them was taken by the police to the drug store of T. J. Pitt, at the corner of Pratt and High streets, and the other to the eastern police station. The yelling continued, and the stones flew thick and fast. At Pratt street bridge a gun was fired, said by policeman No. 71 to have been fired from the ranks of the soldiers. Then the crowd pressed stronger, until the body reached the corner of Gay street, where the troops presented arms and fired. Several persons fell on the first round, and the crowd became furious. A number of revolvers were used, and their shots took effect in the ranks. People then ran in every direction in search of arms, and the armories of the military companies of the city were closely guarded, and none could be obtained. The firing continued from Frederick street to South street in quick succession, but how many fell cannot now be ascertained.

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At the corner of Howard and Dover streets, one of the marching companies were fired upon, when the troops in one of the cars fired a volley into the citizens. The balls struck in the brick walls of the dwellings, dashing out pieces of brick, and making large holes in the walls. The fire was returned from several points with guns and revolvers, and with bricks by the crowd. Several soldiers were wounded here, but it is thought no citizens were struck by the bullets of the soldiers. The faces of many of the soldiers, as seen through the car windows, were streaming with blood from cuts received from the shattered glass of the car windows, and from the missiles hurled into them. Several wounded, supposed to have been shot in their passage along Pratt street, were taken out of the car in a bleeding condition at the Camden station, and transferred to the other cars. From Gay to South street, on Pratt, the fight with the soldiers who marched, or rather ran, through town was terrific. Large paving stones were hurled into the ranks from every direction, the negroes who were about the wharf in many instances joining in the assault. At Gay street the soldiers fired a number of shots, though without hitting any one, so far as could be ascertained. After firing this volley, the soldiers again broke into a run, but another shower of stones being hurled into the ranks at Commerce street with such force as to knock several of them down, the order was given to another portion of them to halt and fire, which had to be repeated before they could be brought to a halt. They then wheeled and fired some twenty shots, but from their stooping and dodging to avoid the stones, but four or five shots took effect, the marks of a greater portion of their balls being visible on the walls of the adjacent warehouses, even up to the second stories. Here four citizens fell, two of whom died in a few seconds, and the other two were carried off, supposed to be mortally wounded. As one of the soldiers fired, he was struck with a stone and knocked down, and as he attempted to rise, another stone struck him in the face, when he crawled into a store. He was taken to the police station to have his wounds dressed. As soon as they had fired at this point they again wheeled, and started off in a full run, when some three or four parties issued from the warehouses there, and fired into them, which brought down three more soldiers, one of whom was carried into the same store with the one above alluded to, and died in a few moments. The others succeeded in regaining their feet, and proceeded on with their comrades, the whole running as fast as they could, and a running fire was kept up by the soldiers from this point to the depot, the crowd continuing to hurl stones into the ranks throughout the whole line of march.

THE TROOPS REACH THE CAMDEN RAILROAD STATION.

As early as 9 o'clock, throngs collected about the Camden station in anticipation of the arrival of the troops from the President street depot. The throngs gradually augmented until about 10½ o'clock, when a large body of police appeared, and the mass took it for granted that the troops were coming. Meanwhile, the assembly kept itself informed on events at the lower depot by several young men on horseback who rode rapidly forward and back between the depots. The Mayor of the city and the Board of Police Commissioners did their utmost to pacify the crowd, as well as did other prominent citizens. Finally, crowds rushing pell-mell from the lower streets towards the depot, gave notice that the cars were coming, and they arrived, one after another, drawn by four horses. The blinds of most of the cars were shut down flat, to avoid the bricks thrown at them. The car windows were perfectly riddled, and their sides bore great indentations from the rocks and bricks hurled at them. The scene, while the troops were changing cars, was indescribably fearful. Taunts, clothed in the most fearful language, were hurled at them by the panting crowd, who, almost breathless with running, passed up to the car window, presenting knives and revolvers, and cursed up into the faces of the soldiers. The police were thrown in between the cars, and forming a barrier, the troops changed cars, many of them cocking their muskets as they stepped on the platform. After embarking, the assemblage expected to see the train move off, but its departure was evidently delayed in the vain hope that the crowd would disperse—but no, it swelled, and the troops expressed to the officers of the road their determination to go at once, or they would leave the cars and make their way to Washington. While the delay was increasing the excitement, a wild cry was raised on the platform, and the dense crowd ran down the platform and out the railroad track towards Spring Gardens, until the track for a mile was black with an excited rushing mass. The crowd, as it went, placed obstructions of every description on the track. Great logs and telegraph poles, requiring a dozen or more men to remove them, were laid across the rails, and stones rolled from the embankment. A body of police followed after the crowd, both in a full run, and removed the obstructions, as fast as they were placed on the track. Various attempts were made to tear up the track with logs of wood and pieces of timber, and there was a great outcry for pickaxes and handspikes, but only one or two could be found. The police interfered on every occasion, but the crowd growing large and more excited, would dash off at a break-neck run for another position further on, until the county line was reached. The police followed, running, until forced to stop from exhaustion. At this point, many of the throng gave it up from exhaustion; but a crowd, longer winded, dashed on for nearly a mile further, now and then pausing to attempt to force the rails, or place some obstruction upon them. They could be distinctly seen for a mile along the track where it makes a bend at the Washington road bridge. When the train went out, the mass of the people had almost returned to the depot. Shots and stones were exchanged between the military and citizens at several points, with the result detailed elsewhere.—*Baltimore Sun, April 20.*

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Names of the Massachusetts Soldiers who were Wounded at Baltimore.—The Washington *Star* of Saturday gives the following names of the wounded of the Massachusetts troops: Company C, Stoneham Light Infantry—Captain J. H. Dike has a ball wound in the head; he left Baltimore, supposed dead; Henry Dike, ball wound in the leg; W. H. Young, hit by a brickbat on the arm; Stephen Flanders, had wound on the head by a brickbat; H. Perry, wounded on the knee by a brickbat; John Foster, wounded on the head with a stone; C. G. Gill, bad wound on the knee from the breech of a gun; John W. Peimall, knocked on the head by a brickbat; John Kempton, several bad bruises on the legs and arms from paving stones; Morris Meade, wounded in the leg by a brickbat; Lieut. James Rowe, two side cuts in the head from brickbats; Daniel Brown, third finger of left hand shot off.

Company I, of Lawrence—V. G. Gingrass, shot through the arm; Alonzo Joy, two fingers shot off; Sergeant G. J. Dorall, cut on the head with a brickbat. Of this company five or six were left in Baltimore; the nature of their wounds not known.

Company C, of Lowell—Charles Stimson had his nose broken with a brick.

Company D, of Lowell—C. H. Chandler, wounded in the head by a brick; W. H. Lamson, struck in the eye and on the back of the head with paving stones, with other severe bruises on the body; Ira W. Moore, badly wounded on left arm with brickbat; George Alexander, back of the head and neck badly cut with a brick.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD SOLDIERS OF MASSACHUSETTS IN BALTIMORE. A gentleman in Baltimore, writing to a friend in this city, gives as a reason why the bodies of the Massachusetts soldiers killed by the mob in that city were not sent to Boston, is the treatment one of the bodies received at the hands of the mob. He says it is well known in that city, that while one body was lying at the depot, it was kicked till the lower jaw was broken, or as some say, kicked off, and that it was with difficulty saved from further mutilation by the desperate efforts of some of the persons who witnessed the outrage.—*Boston Traveller.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COTTON CONFEDERACY STIMULATING PIRACY!

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

MONTGOMERY, April 17.

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has announced his intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting its free people to the dominion of a foreign power; and whereas, it has thus become the duty of this Government to repel the threatened invasion, and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and the usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal:—

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire by armed service in private armed vessels on the high seas to aid this Government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States. And I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque, to make a statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of the character, tonnage and force of the vessel, the name and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of the crew, and to sign each statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State. And I do further notify all the applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is granted to any vessel or the owner or owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, that they will be required to give a bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties, not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of $5000, with the condition that the owners, officers and crew who shall be employed on board shall observe the laws of the Confederate States and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States.

And I do further specially enjoin upon all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto. And I do moreover solemnly exhort the good people of the Confederate States, as they love their country, as they prize the blessing of a free government, as they feel the wrongs of the past, and those now threatened in aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable because unprovoked, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficiency of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for the common defence, and by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just and honorable peace.

In testimony whereof, I have set my hand and seal this 17th day of April.

(Signed,) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President:

ROBERT TOOMBS, *Secretary of State.*

PRIVATEERS TO PREY ON NORTHERN COMMERCE. The New Orleans *Crescent*, of March 31st, says: "We beg to assure the Black Republican leaders of the North, from Mr. Seward up to Mr. Lincoln down, that the people of the confederate States, in consequence of the absorbing love they bear the Abolitionists, have no desire to witness the destruction of 'Northern commerce,' although they have carefully and systematically provided the means for its entire annihilation. Let but one hostile gun be fired upon our people from forts Sumter and Pickens, from 'Key West and Tortugas,' or from any other point, and in six months the sails of Northern merchantmen will be wholly unknown to any sea under the canopy of heaven!

If, after the happening of this event, Mr. Lincoln's Government desires to retain 'possession of Key West and Tortugas,' or any other point, including Washington, they will be perfectly welcome to do so—if they can."

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☞ The New York *Commercial* says:—Orders have been received from the Navy Department at Washington, by the officers of the various United States vessels, that all persons found sailing under Jefferson Davis's letters of marque and reprisal be treated as pirates. That the contumacious be *immediately hung from the yard-arm*, and the crew and more penitent officers be placed in irons to await their trial as ocean brigands. This summary method of dealing will be seconded by the European powers, who have just as much cause to fear a fleet of free-booters infesting the seas and molesting peaceful commerce as have the Northern States.

INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* writes from Washington on Friday, as follows:—

"During the last seven days, I have been through Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The excitement is wild. Railway trains are loaded with soldiers, arms and ammunition. Northerners are hastening home, closely watched, subjected to gross indignities, and often arrested as spies.

The general belief is, that Ben McCulloch is about to attack Washington successfully; that Mr. Lincoln will be killed; that the North wants to subjugate the South; that Yankee soldiers, as they are called, are cowards, and easily defeated.

Methodist clergymen are acting as captains. Companies are organized with religious ceremonies. Boys are enlisting, and women are urging on brothers and husbands.

The defenceless condition of Mobile harbor excited great alarm, and it is being strengthened.

There was great activity still about the defences of Charleston harbor, in anticipation of a sea attack. Troops are still coming in from the country.

Companies are pouring into Pensacola. Gen. Bragg had all his plans laid for attack last Friday night. Sentinels were to be bribed, and it was expected that they would surprise the fort. The U. S. forces discovered the plot; so it was abandoned. The fort can only be carried with immense loss of life. The revolutionists' cannon are light. There is great fear of the Brooklyn's guns.

At Montgomery, on Monday, a clerk in one of the Southern Confederacy Departments was arrested as a spy.

Throughout South Carolina, the charge that Major Anderson was treacherous was universally scouted. They say, that to have held out longer would have subjected his command to certain death from the explosion of the magazine.

The commander of the U. S. fleet was declared to be a 'Yankee coward.'

Pieces of Major Anderson's flagstaff are carried through the country as curiosities. In the interior of the State, I heard extreme fears expressed that the slaves would be supplied with arms from the North, and rebel."

NARROW ESCAPE OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER. The New York *Tribune* makes the following statement in regard to the attempt to mob Mr. Sumner at Baltimore:—"Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, stopped in Baltimore the night *before* the Massachusetts men were there, put up at Barnum's Hotel, registered his name, and walked directly out to visit a friend. Very soon, the house was surrounded by fierce, vociferous thousands, crying, 'Bring him out!' groaning, and threatening to tear down the house. They were assured that there was no such person in the house. At 8½ o'clock, Mr. Sumner returned, was taken in at a side door unrecognized, and shown to his room. Here he was speedily waited on by the landlord and by the manager, who each entreated him to leave, to save his own life, with the house and its contents. He refused, since he could not get out of the city, and had no right to expose a private dwelling to danger. The landlord then put him into another room, and of course denied that any such person was in the house. The mob was thus got rid of. But Mr. Sumner's desire to wait till the second morning train was overruled by the landlord's earnest remonstrances, or rather entreaties, and he left at 5 A. M., a private carriage taking him from the private door, so that he should not be seen."

NEW YORK, April 22. Richard Lathers publishes a card, avowing himself for the Union and the flag.

Gentlemen who came through Baltimore Saturday night, report that nothing but secession flags can be seen. No man dare proclaim himself in favor of the Union. The police and military are either acting with the secessionists or overawed by them.

A vigilance committee of sixty hold permanent session at Barnum's Hotel, and spot every stranger who makes his appearance.

Gentlemen living beyond Havre de Grace report that armed men are station to prevent the rebuilding of the railroad bridges. They also say that they heard cannonading in the direction of Baltimore on Saturday night.

Advices from Washington to Saturday evening, state that the government had planted cannon on the heights overlooking the city. It is generally believed that about 10,000 men are under arms.

It is said that William B. Astor has offered to *give* the government four millions and loan it ten millions of dollars.

A vessel was seized yesterday, bound for New Orleans, with 1000 barrels of powder on board.

A lot of blank registrations of vessels lithographing for the Confederate States were seized last night.

All vessels bound to sea are now strictly watched, to prevent supplies, provisions, &c., going to Southern ports.

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, passed through here yesterday for Washington. He enlisted as a private in the Third Battalion of the Massachusetts Rifles.

Senator Baker, of Oregon, has been chosen Colonel of the regiment of Californians now organizing.

PHILADELPHIA, April 20. Col. Small's regiment arrived back here last night. Six men were wounded by the stones thrown at them by the mob at Baltimore. A large number are missing who separated from their comrades during the affray.

The war excitement is intense. The Baltimore riot has kindled a spirit of revenge under which thousands are rushing to arms. Some eight thousand volunteers are already enrolled. It is stated on good authority that ten thousand men will be collected as rapidly as possible at Harrisburg, and moved in a body into Maryland, for the reopening and protection of communication between Washington and the North.

PHILADELPHIA, April 22. The Hon. Mr. Lowry, the special messenger from Washington, gives the following account of his experience: "Left Erie at midnight on Thursday. Came to Harrisburg. After an interview with Gov. Curtin, proceeded to Baltimore. Did not witness the first fight, but did the scenes which followed.

History will record it that Massachusetts—although more than a hundred men were leveled with bricks and their arms wrested from them—did not fire until commanded to do so by the Mayor of Baltimore.

The condition of Baltimore is fearful. Armed mobs parade the streets, compelling all persons to unite with them in imprecations against the North, the government and the Union. The principal streets are barricaded, and many houses are furnished with shutters in which loop-holes have been cut.

Several of the missing Pennsylvanians have returned from Baltimore, and report that they were put in jail there. Thirty-five wandering in the woods near Conowing's were kindly cared for by the farmers, but have not yet returned.

WILMINGTON, Del., April 22. A naval officer arrived here this afternoon, says the steamer S. R. Spaulding, from Boston, landed a portion of her troops very quietly at Fort McHenry. Baltimoreans were waiting to seize her, but she started down the Bay and frustrated their designs. Annapolis is in charge of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment.

At Richmond, there has been unparalleled excitement during the last three days. Business was suspended; gold and New York exchange were fifteen per cent. premium. One secession firm advertises that they repudiate Northern debts. There were fears of trouble from the two thousand free negroes of the city. Sharpe's rifles were being ordered from New York, to be shipped, disguised, in dry goods boxes.

Union men are utterly crushed out. The Convention is still in secret session. Trouble is anticipated in the anti-slavery districts of the West. Though the secession ordinance is not to be submitted to the people till the May election, the authorities will act as if the State is already out of the Union. The Congressional candidates announce themselves for the Montgomery, not Washington, Congress.

☞ Information has reached the War Department that Ohio sends her quota of thirteen regiments, (10,000 men,) and holds 20,000 in reserve, equipped and supplied at the State's expense. General Wood says he can bring 100,000 men, if necessary, into the field at short notice.

☞ The New Haven banks have decided to offer to Governor Buckingham ten per cent. of their capital—say $3,500,000—or $350,000 for the support of the Government.

NEW ORLEANS, April 20. Steamer Matagorda, which captured the Star of the West, was ordered to do so by Col. Van Doon of the Confederate army. The foundries here are casting guns, shot and shells. Troops continue to leave for Pensacola.

☞ The Kentucky State Union Committee have issued an address on the state of the country, advocating the ground that it is the duty of the State to maintain a neutrality, taking no part either with the Government or the Confederates, and permitting neither to march troops across Kentucky to attack the other. This is the ground taken by Mr. Crittenden, in a late speech at Lexington. The Unionists of Kentucky will find peaceful neutrality impossible.

☞ Sharp's Rifle Company refuse to sell their weapons to go, either directly or indirectly, to the South. As long ago as January 17, Col. Colt instructed the Secretary of the company to sell no arms to South Carolina, and that gentleman has just notified the proper authorities that his revolving arms are for sale, first, to the State of Connecticut; next in preference, the government of the United States, and none at all to the South. Col. Hazard announces that he makes no more powder to go to the South until hostilities have ceased.

A Union man of Huntsville, Ala., narrowly escaped hanging last Monday.

In Eastern North Carolina, yesterday, the excitement was utterly wild. Six twenty-six-pounders from Charleston for Fort Macon reached Wilmington last night. Troops were pouring into that and the other forts. One hundred and sixty free negroes had been impressed, and are now working on the fortifications. Gov. Ellis was about to convene the Legislature. The State is already considered out of the Union. There were loud threats to drive out Mr. Gilmer and other Union men.

Gilbert Potter, a professed Unionist of Wilmington, has donated a thousand barrels of mess pork to the revolutionists.

DEMOLITION OF THE NAVY YARD AT NORFOLK.

NEW YORK, April 23. The Pawnee, under Com. Paulding, on arrival at Fort Monroe, took aboard the Third Massachusetts Regiment, and proceeded to the Navy Yard, where the officers had commenced destroying the public property, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

They had scuttled all the ships, the Cumberland being the only one in commission; they cut down the shears, &c. Preparations were made to make demolition complete.

The Pawnee, with the Cumberland in tow, assisted by the Yankee, started, and after passing the Navy Yard, sent up a signal rocket, when a match was applied, and in an instant ships, the ship-houses and store-houses were in flames; and so rapid were they, that Com. Rogers of the Navy, and Capt. Wright of the Engineers, were unable to reach the point of rendezvous, where a boat was waiting for them, and were left behind.

Among the most valuable property destroyed were the liners Pennsylvania, Columbus, New York and Delaware; frigates Merrimac and Potomac; sloops Germantown and Plymouth, and brig Dolphin.

Large quantities of provisions, cordage, machinery, and building of great value, were destroyed. It is not positively known that the dock is blown up. The burning of the Navy Yard was done by Union men, who are in the majority, but comparatively unarmed.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Albany Anti-Slavery Office, from Jan. 1 to April 1, 1861.

Mrs. M. Weaver, Albion, N. Y.,	$1.00
James A. Burr, Ludlowville, N. Y.,	5.00
Louisa Cone, Champion, "	1.00
Mary Hoag, Albany, "	10.00
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro', "	5.00
Friend, " "	0.12
Mrs. C. M. Trevor, Lockport, "	5.00
M. C. Wright, Auburn, "	5.00
Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia,	1.00
Jacob Baker, Albany, N. Y.,	1.00
Dr. Andrews, "	1.00
Mrs. Loveridge, "	1.00
David Baker, Easton,	0.25
Sundry persons,	2.13
Collections by Susan B. Anthony, at Waterloo.	
Israel Lisk,	0.25
R. P. Mosher,	0.25
Henry Bunnell,	1.00
Sarah Hunt,	0.50
Mary Bowditch,	0.25
Stephen Shear,	0.50
M. Cosad,	0.25
Mary Burnett,	0.10
Sundry persons,	1.86
From Seneca Falls,	6.75
West Winfield, Herkimer County.	
Mrs. M. A. E. Green,	11.25
Laura Aldridge,	2.00
Sundry persons,	5.25
Brockett's Bridge.	
Thomas and Mary Cole,	8.25
Reubin Fabill,	0.25
Zenas and Candace Brockett,	4.00
J. D. Spofford,	1.00
L. D. Medkiff,	1.00
Hester Cole,	0.50
George Dale,	0.18
Sundry persons,	0.58
Easton, Washington County.	
G. Baker,	1.00
C. B. Dennis,	0.25
H. Peckham,	0.25
J. Taber,	0.50
Job Wilbur,	1.00
R. Baker,	1.00
D. and S. Baker,	1.00
C. Haviland,	0.50
B. Barker,	0.50
S. Hoag,	0.25
H. A. Mosher,	0.50
Abel Thomas,	0.50
Wm. Brownell,	0.50
W. F. Winton,	0.25
C. Butler,	0.50
Mary M. Davis,	0.50
Sundry persons,	0.74
Leonard Gibbs, Greenwich,	5.00
Union Village Meetings,	1.12
From Rochester, N. Y.,	25.00

LYDIA MOTT, *Treasurer.*

MARRIED—At Ghent, Columbia Co., N. Y., on Monday evening, April 15, by themselves, AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent, to J. ANNA RICE, of Worcester, Mass.

The following is a protest, as embodied in their marriage certificate, against the unequal bearing of the statutes of the civil code upon the parties to a marriage contract:—

"Herewith we record our united protest against the inequality and injustice of the statutes of the civil code pertaining to marriage, which assign to the wife a position of legal inferiority. The marriage contract is framed in ignorance, inequality and injustice, in the making of which one of the parties becomes at once civilly dead and legally buried. The individuality of the wife is merged in the husband. Her personal and property rights are surrendered. Against this inequality and injustice, this monstrous sacrifice of the birthright of every human soul, baptized by apostolic hands as a holy sacrament and everlasting ordinance of the living God, we do protest."

All honor to the parties for making so just and forcible a protest! May their union be crowned with bliss!

PRICES

—AT—

HEBBARD'S,

THE NO. OF DAYS

365 Washington Street.

IN THE YEAR.

	CTS.
Grey Goods,	12 1-2
Figured Grey Goods,	25
Striped and Figured Grey Goods,	25
Checked Mohairs,	25
Good Prints,	7 and 8
Best American Prints,	10
Best English, "	11
Best yard wide "	17
Best French "	25
Best Delaines,	17
All wool Delaines, (plain,)	25
Best all wool Delaines,	33
Organdie and Cambric Muslins, from	8 to 50
Tidies; all styles, from	12 1-2 to 50
Curtain Muslins, from	25 to 37 1-2
Best Cambrics,	6 1-4
Best Sarsnet Cambrics,	8
Best Silecia	10
4-4 Cotton,	10
5-4 "	12 1-2
7-8 "	8

Best Hoop Skirts, (Mrs. Sherman's make,) warranted not to get out of order, from 75 cts. upwards.

Cashmere Scarfs, from $1 to $4.

Linen Bosom,	12 1-2 to 30
Linen Collars and Cuffs,	10
Linen Sets,	25
Best Linen Gent's Hdkfs.,	25
" " Ladies' "	12 1-2
Hemstitched " "	17

Ribbons, from 8 to 37 1-2 cts. per yard.

Hosiery, Gloves, Embroideries, White Goods and Domestics, at Agents' prices.

☞ Store acknowledged to be the best lighted, the most attractive and cozy in the city.

Boston, April 19. tf

P. S.

PERUVIAN SYRUP,

THE GREAT CURATIVE OF THE AGE.

TRY IT.

IT will entirely cure, or greatly relieve, the following distressing complaints: Dyspepsia, Dropsy, Diarrhœa, General Debility, Nervousness, Ulcers, Piles, Bronchitis, Jaundice, Dysentery, Neuralgia, Liver Complaint, Erysipelas, and the endless catalogue of Female Difficulties, most of which originate in a low state of the blood.

Get our new Pamphlet, and read it.

JEWETT & COMPANY,
No. 39 Summer st., Boston.

For sale by all Druggists.

April 19. 3mis.

HOPEDALE
HOME SCHOOL.

THE next (Summer) Term of the Institution will commence on *Wednesday, May* 1, and continue *Ten Weeks.* Thoroughly Reformatory and Progressive in its spirit and character, it must rely chiefly upon the patronage of the more advanced and liberal portion of the public for support.

For particulars, send for Circular to the address of
WM. S. HAYWOOD, } *Principals.*
ABBIE B. HAYWOOD, }

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., March 30, 1861. 4w

WEST NEWTON
English and Classical School.

THE Summer Quarter begins Wednesday, 24th instant. For particulars, address

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN,
April 23.—1w West Newton, Mass.

LINDA.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, Seven Years concealed in Slavery; narrated by herself; with an Introduction by LYDIA MARIA CHILD, and a Letter by AMY POST. A handsome book of 306 pages, just issued, which is receiving highly commendatory notices from the press. Price, $1.00. Orders for mailing must include sixteen cents in postage stamps.

Address WM. C. NELL,
F8 tf 221 Washington street.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE PRO-SLAVERY PULPIT.

Ye claim to be, and proudly call yourselves
The servants of the meek and humble Lord,
His ministers, expounders of his word;
Yet, is not the poor slave, who humbly delves
Beneath the driver's whip, whom none afford
Kindness, or pity, in the truth-clear eyes
Of him who bade his followers leave land,
House, wealth, nay, even far dearer household ties,
Brother, wife, child, breaking life's strongest band,
Rather than break his true, life-giving laws—
Is not that helpless slave nearer to him,
Although his lamp of knowledge burn but dim,
Than such as will not, for a righteous cause,
Yield at Christ's call riches, and man's applause?

Tenterden, Eng. JANE ASHBY.

For the Liberator.

JOHN BROWN.

BY M. L. H.

His is a deathless name;
He will go down
The pathway of ages,
A man of renown.
Never a monument
Over his head—
'Tis a foul calumny,
He is not dead!

Say you they murdered him?
Hold: 'tis a lie!—
One of the deathless—
How could he die?
Say you, at Elba
Buried he lies?
So think the foolish,
So not the wise.

In the wild tumult,
Soon to begin,
He will be leader—
Follow him in!
Ring in the jubilee,
Freedom shall reign!
Minions of tyranny!
Bury your slain.

Foemen of liberty—
Stealers of men—
He abhorr'd slavery—
Curse him again!
Rail on his memory,
Heap on it shame!
Such be his monument,
Such be his fame.

While o'er your laborers
Fiends have control,
While every cotton-bale
Prisons a soul,
While clanks the fetter,
While rings the lash,
Down from our Northern rocks
Torrents will dash.

John Brown, the watch-word—
Freedom, the cry;
A thousand will follow,
His place to supply.
Tremble at thought of him;
Shrink as in dread,
God is still over you,
Vengeance ahead!

In the world's history,
One of the brave,
Lived he for freedom—
Died for the slave;—
Lived he that gospel
So many profess,
Hating the evils
He could not redress.

While for its fellow-man
One heart is brave—
While on this continent
Crouches a slave—
While in the nation's heart
Worth has renown,
Thou art a hero,
Noble John Brown!

SPRING.

A flush of green is on the boughs,
A warm breath panteth in the air,
And in the earth a heart-pulse there
Throbs underneath her breast of snows:

Life is astir among the woods,
And by the moor, and by the stream,
The year, as from a torpid dream,
Wakes in the sunshine on the buds;

Wakes up in music as the song
Of wood-bird wild and loosen'd rill
More frequent from the windy hill
Comes greening forest aisles along;

Wakes up in beauty as the sheen
Of woodland pool the gleams receives
Through bright flowers, over braided leaves,
Of broken sunlights, golden-green.

She sees the outlaw'd Winter stay
Awhile, to gather after him
Snow-robes, frost-crystall'd diadem,
And then in soft showers pass away.

She could not love rough Winter well,
Yet cannot choose but mourn him now;
So wears awhile on her young brow
Her gift—a gleaming icicle.

Then turns her, loving, to the sun,
Upheaves her bosom's swell to his,
And, in the joy of his first kiss,
Forgets for aye that sterner one:

Old Winter's pledge from her he reaves—
That icy-cold, though glittering spar—
And zones her with a green cymar,
And girdles round her brow with leaves;

The primrose and wood-violet
He tangles in her shining hair,
And teaches elfin breezes fair
To sing her some sweet canzonet.

All promising long summer hours,
When she in his embrace shall lie,
Under the broad dome of bright sky,
On mossy couches starr'd with flowers;

Till she smiles back again to him
The beauty beaming from his face,
And, robed in light, glows with the grace
Of Eden-palaced cherubim.

O earth, thy glowing loveliness
Around our very hearts has thrown
An undimmed joyance all its own,
And sunn'd us o'er with happiness.

THYSELF IN OTHERS.

Go thou into the highways,
And speak the words of cheer;
Return the joyful smile for smile,
The mourning tear for tear.

Find thine own life in others,
And then come back to me;
And thou shalt hear what I have heard,
And see what I can see.

COMMERCE AND SLAVERY.

Heaven speed the canvass, gallantly unfurl'd
To furnish and accommodate a world,
To give the pole the produce of the sun,
And knit th' unsocial climates into one:
But, ah! what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair,
Who drive a loathsome traffic, guage and span,
And buy the muscles and the bones of man!
The tender ties of father, husband, friend,
All bonds of nature in that moment end;
And each endures, while yet he draws his breath,
A stroke as fatal as the scythe of Death.

The Liberator.

INSURRECTION.

It is useless to argue with those who do not admit your premises, and will not see the facts that underlie them; therefore, when such presses as the hunker *Journal of Commerce*, and timid, craven *Times*, of New York, attempting to discuss the gravest and most momentous question that has ever distracted the politics of this country, fail to prove that they possess that simple property, common sense, it is time lost and patience exercised to bestow much attention upon them.

But as these papers are "eminently respectable," and represent the "devilism in general" inherent in Hunkerdom, and the stupidity that exists in a compromising Republicanism, it may be well to allude to them occasionally.

The New York *Times* of the 12th calls attention to some remarks by the *Journal of Commerce*, which copied from "Garrison's *Liberator*" an extract from an article advocating Slave Insurrection as a "cure for Southern secession." The *Journal* says it "does not exactly tally with the non-resistance principles formerly professed by the editor," and is therefore puzzled, and ascribes it to the "fighting editor, or some other person." (1) Both the *Journal* and *Times* are struck with the atrocity of insurrection, and the latter says, "We shall wage no war in which such aids will be tolerated. We have nothing to do in this [secession] contest, with slavery or with slaves; and if the Federal Government cannot enforce its laws and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution without resorting to such instrumentalities, we trust it will be thoroughly beaten in every encounter."

Why, slavery is the all in all of the country's troubles that now ultimate in civil war. Does the *Times* deny the fact of the 4,000,000 slaves within the limits of the United States, and that these slaves have, through the Constitution, given unprecedented powers to a dominant class of men, whose only aim is now despotic rule; an aristocracy for a government; and whose determination is to destroy all freedom of thought and action; to break down the doctrines of the American Declaration of Independence, degrade labor, and eventually frighten even the whites of the North into a servile fear of the privileged classes, who shall rule them independently of the check of public opinion, and accountability thereto?

Has not slavery retarded the growth and prosperity of the country, materially and morally, and been the mother of all sorts of "devilism" for the white man? Read Helper's book, and see the vast disparity between the North and South in every thing that constitutes the wealth, intelligence and true glory of a country, and then deny, if possible, that slavery is an element in politics.

So much for the white man. There is another party deeply interested in this business, the black man, the slave. Has he no rights? Is he not a man, differing from his master only in respect to the color of his skin? [And often not even in that!]

How can slavery be abolished? There is only one means left. The anti-slavery agitation, for the last twenty-five or thirty years, has enlightened a portion of the North as to the enormity of the crime of slavery; this has reacted upon the South to make her more stringent in the government of her slaves. As slavery has been the foundation of the vast power the South has wielded in the past, she is not fool enough to give it up quietly, or sell her slaves for emancipation by the general government. *Peaceful* agitation on the subject of slavery has had its day, and done its work, and prepared the way for action.

The South has shown what she can do in civil war. For a time, at least, under the enthusiasm of fighting for what she deems her rights, and determined to conquer or die, she can entail a bloody and fierce war upon the free North. Let the Border States join the Cotton Confederacy, which they will probably now do, what under heaven can save us in continued warfare? The North will have to succumb, in time; not that she is lacking in bravery, blood and treasure, but she will get tired, in the course of a few years, of fighting with her brethren, and many considerations will arise to induce her to listen to proposals for peace, even if she has to compromise some of the dearest rights possessed by freemen. Not being fully aroused to the sense of the damning wrong inflicted by the institution of slavery upon herself and upon the slaves, she will become indifferent, and imagine there is some other mode of settling the "nigger" question than fighting over it.

Disunion will not give us peace; for as soon as that might be accomplished, the South, having nothing to fear from the North, would seek and obtain acknowledgment from foreign governments, and perhaps with some of them form alliances detrimental to the interests of freedom. Her first negotiations with the North would be for the recognition and perpetuation of slavery, and upon any refusal to comply with this request, threats of war, which would amount to more than mere bravado, would follow. Being a member of the family of nations, her facilities for trading with foreign countries, and obtaining money, would be increased. The merchants of the North, who have been sighing over the loss of Southern trade, would again be made to groan, and new Sewards would stifle their convictions of right and justice to assure capitalists that "the government meant peace," and that the confederacy South, by all the means in their power, should be conciliated.

Nog—iv eus a war that shall forever settle our troubles. Let all the blood that is to be shed flow now, at once, and from all the sources that create blood. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and we must preserve *our* liberties, at all costs, and the *black* should fight for *his*. Now that the South has given us a taste of war, let it be as bloody a one as she desires. Let us meet her not merely with guns and powder and shot, but let her feel the power of a slave insurrection that shall swallow up "innocent women and children," if their fathers wilfully neglect to provide for their safety by peaceful emancipation of the slaves. All the battles the North may have with the South for ten years would not be half as effectual as a ripe insurrection. What consternation seizes upon a Southern community at first intimation of an insurrection! What enabled John Brown to take captive the chivalrous State of Virginia? Nothing but the panic of fear. What is the cause of the butcheries by the slaveholders upon slaves detected in this kind of work, but fear? All is fair in war. Slavery is war. The South holds 4,000,000 prisoners of war. Who shall say that any means, all means, are not honorable in accomplishing the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" by these millions? Insurrection would make slavery a hot coal in the hands of the South, and she would soon drop it. A property accursed, she would fly to the North, and try to "sell out," at any price.

The more we look at it, the more are we convinced of the necessity of a general slave insurrection, instituted either by President Lincoln, or got up on private account. Nothing but this will (in our opinion) bring the South to her senses. Is this inhuman? When modern science creates a deadly weapon more effective and murderous than any other in use, men apologize for it by calling it an angel of mercy in diminishing the number of battles demanded by a common war. Surely, in this light, would not insurrection be an angel of mercy to shorten the horrors that now threaten to extend through a long course of civil war?

We do *not* desire "revenge" on those who are in arms against the government, but we do desire *peace*, and hail with joy any instrumentality that will produce it for our common country.

INSURRECTIONIST.

(1) The editor of the *Liberator* disclaims all responsibility for the sentiments presented by its correspondents—leaving them the largest freedom of expression, while exercising the same for himself.—[*Ed. Lib.*

Selected Articles.

GREAT NEGRO EXCITEMENT!

SUCCESSFUL ARREST OF RUNAWAY SLAVES IN CHICAGO.

The newly appointed U. S. Marshal of this district signalized the commencement of his official career yesterday morning, by the successful arrest of *five* runaway slaves—a negro, his wife and three children.

These negroes escaped some time ago from their owners, Mr. Patterson and Mr. Vale, of St. Louis county, Missouri. Of course, it was expected they would make their way to Chicago, and hither the owners came in pursuit of them. They succeeded about a week ago in discovering their retreat; but were unable to do anything then, as there was no Marshal to execute a writ. After Mr. Jones came into office, the owners of the negroes proceeded to Springfield, and obtained a warrant from S. A. Corneau, U. S. Commissioner, directed to the Marshal of the Northern district. In the body of the warrant the negroes were so minutely described that any person might easily recognize them.

The warrant was delivered to Marshal Jones last Monday, and his deputy, Mr. George L. Webb, was designated to execute it. Mr. Webb determined at once that the affair should not prove a *fiasco*, and made his arrangements accordingly. At the same time, there was no unnecessary expansion—no summoning of secret *posse comitatus*—no "fuss and feathers." A locomotive with an emigrant car was to be in readiness to leave the St. Louis railway station punctually at 6½ P. M.—and that was all.

Shortly before six o'clock yesterday morning, Mr. Webb, accompanied by two or three friends, proceeded to the house on Clark street, three doors from Jackson, where the negroes were domiciled, in the third story. The man—called Harris, or Johnson—was found in his room just getting up. As soon as he beheld his visitors, he divined the object of their visit, and commenced resistance. For several minutes he fought like a tiger, his wife joining him in the combat, while their little ones ran screaming and crying about the room. In the fight the deputy marshal received a pretty severe wound on the hand, but not sufficient to disable him. The negro and his wife were quickly subdued, and the former was placed in irons. They were then taken down stairs, put in a hackney coach, and driven to the car that was waiting to receive them. The car left the depot at half past six, and in forty minutes had passed the city of Joliet. The negroes were taken to Springfield, where an examination was had in accordance with law, yesterday, and the slaves were ordered into the custody of their owner.

The news of the arrest quickly spread among the negroes in this city, and in less than twenty minutes after the Marshal left the house, it was surrounded by a large and excited crowd of Africans, swearing the direst description of vengeance upon the officers and all concerned. The story was quickly told, how a negro had gone to the house that night, and desired to lodge there; how the occupants had objected, yet upon his persisting, had acquiesced; how this negro had arisen at an unusually early hour in the morning, and gone down stairs to open the door and let the officer in. The negroes soon fixed upon one Hayes, who drives an express wagon, as the African Judas in question. Just then Hayes came along, the enraged mob flew upon him, but he succeeded in escaping by running into a second-hand clothing shop, making his exit by the back door.

Foiled in their desire of vengeance in this direction, the negroes rushed pell mell towards Bridgeport, hoping to intercept the train upon which they supposed the fugitives would be taken away. At the bridge crossing they made a stand, and again collected to the number of several hundred. The train to approach was the nine o'clock passenger train, the negroes not being aware that a special train had carried their comrades away more than two hours before. Their first effort was to make the flagman show a white flag, a signal for the train to stop; but the flagman refused to do any such thing. The negroes then declared they would stop it, and for this purpose spread themselves out across the track, believing, probably, that by their combined efforts they would butt the locomotive off the track! But when the train approached, the engineer, seeing a great crowd of negroes on the track, simply opened the cylinder cocks of his engine, and gave them a double broadside of steam and hot water, which speedily cleared the way. As the train was passing, one of the negroes fired his revolver at the engineer, but did not hit him. If that negro can be identified, he should be arrested and punished with the utmost severity of the law.

Again defeated in their purposes, the negroes returned, with renewed determination to take vengeance upon the negro Hayes. Shortly before noon, word was brought to the south district police station that the negroes in large force had surrounded the house of Hayes, at the corner of Wells and Taylor streets, with the determination of killing him. A posse of six men was immediately sent to the spot with directions to bring the negro to the Armory, for better security. Word was also sent to the north and west stations for reinforcements. The posse found the house of Hayes surrounded by a crowd of between two and three hundred negroes, armed with clubs, knives, pistols, shot guns, and other utensils of war. Their cry was, "Kill him! Kill de dam darkey!" They had obtained a ladder, and with it were endeavoring to get into the house through an upper window, in which they would have soon succeeded had not the police arrived to interfere with their designs. The infuriated negro mob was soon scattered by the police, like a flock of black sheep. Only a few, more courageous than the rest, lingered near the house. The negro Hayes was then brought down and conducted towards the Armory, the mob of negroes following at a respectful distance. On the way, the posse were met by reënforcement from the north and west divisions, and, with this additional force, seven of the ringleaders in the riot—six males and one female—were arrested. They were brought before Esquire Aiken, who discharged the female, and admitted the others to special bail, to appear on Friday next. They gave the following names: Franklin Johnson, John Barriday, Abraham Thompson, Charles Johnson, William Lee. Allen Pinkerton became surety for their appearance.—*Chicago Post, April 4th.*

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CHICAGO. We are informed upon undoubted authority that an association embracing men of all political opinions, except abolitionism, has been organized in this city within the past few weeks, whose object it is to stand by the United States Marshal in the thorough and rigid enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. The association numbers about six hundred men, all good and substantial citizens. They intend to prove, and we doubt not will succeed in proving, that the Fugitive Slave Law not only can be, but will be, *enforced under a Republican administration, by Republican officers.* If the signs of the times indicate anything, there will be fewer runaway negroes in Chicago six months hence than there are now.—*Ibid.*

THE COLORED EXODUS!

Departure of over One Hundred Fugitives for Canada!—Great Excitement, and Moving Scenes!!

The United States Marshal, and his standing advertisement that he has fully equipped his office in this city with fellows of the right kidney, and is now willing to answer all orders, and catch all runaways, guaranteeing promptness and dispatch in so doing, has created a wonderful state of feeling among our colored citizens, to which we have before referred. In saloons and bar-rooms about town, the zealous Federal officer is praised, but good men and humane hang their heads, Republicans finding this one consolation in the matter,—just this, that the Marshal does well to choose his tools from the party that has always kept blood-hounds in leash, ready at the slave-driver's beck and bidding. No Republican has yet, we believe, received an appointment of the Marshal.

There has been an immense state of excitement among the colored people; generally, as a class, our most quiet citizens; and the actual presence of numerous slave-hunters in town, and the knowledge that several writs were in officers' hands, has created a perfect stampede among the numerous fugitives resident here. Within the week ending with Sunday last, nearly *three hundred* people of color, from this city, have sought refuge in Canada. We give the above figure on the best authority, as the outside limit, for the reason that the number is greatly exaggerated by rumor, and accounts rife about town.

And, indeed, this is no inconsiderable number to have left one community within a week for a new home and liberty in the Queen's dominions. Many of them had been for years resident among us, and not a few were comfortably maintaining themselves in vocations useful to the community. Some of them had here secured by their industry homes of their own, and were living rebukes on the libel that these people "cannot take care of themselves." But the fate of the Harris family was too marked and too recent, and the Marshal and his assistants, and bogus police officers, quite too eager at man-hunting, and so the stampede began. Many were able to pay their own way to a land of Freedom: still more were aided by the charitable to the means requisite for their transportation to Canadian soil.

All through last week, they left in parties of from four to twelve or fifteen, quietly, and without attracting attention. These went by the regular trains, and generally at second class fares. There was, however, a large share of those for whom an early departure was deemed prudent, who were still in town when the week closed. A party of thirty were concealed for several days in the hold of a schooner, whose destination was the other side of the lake, but which was wind-bound in this harbor. Sunday came, and found upwards of one hundred pressing and anxious to go, for whose transportation, late in the week, preparations were made in the contract with the Michigan Southern Railroad, to take them through to Detroit in freight, caboose cars, at an average of $2 apiece.

Sunday was made memorable by such an exodus as no city in the United States ever saw before. While the church-bells were calling our congregations to praise and prayer, the same was the signal for a great gathering at the Baptist Church on the corner of Buffalo street and Edina Place, most remarkable in its character. The house, a neat structure erected by our colored residents, was densely packed. The services were impressive and deeply affecting. The occasion was to be the farewell of the one hundred and fifteen who were to leave by the train, at 6 P. M., for Canada. That quarter of the city is largely inhabited by colored residents, on Edina Place and Buffalo street, and these were out in full force. The peculiarly demonstrative characteristics of the race had their full measure of display. They wept, they embraced one another, prayed together, sang together, and passed from house to house, giving words of parting. Many of the better class brought from their homes provisions for the store of these poor pilgrims, many little trinkets and keepsakes were exchanged, and God bless you's and good byes—very like white folk, under similar circumstances—and at Delft Haven it might have been nearly the same, very like indeed.

The Michigan Southern train was to leave at 6 P. M., the regular passenger train with the four chartered freight cars attached; and in these latter, as the hour of parting drew near, they commenced stowing themselves. Each car was supplied with a cask of water and substantial provisions, boiled beef, hams, beans, bread and apples. Some of the party were old, but most of them were young men in their prime, as the class obviously most likely to run the risk of fleeing from slavery. There were quite a number of young families going, to save the children from sharing the fate of a slave mother.

One poor woman, for whom writs, it was known, were made out some days since, was brought down on a mattrass, on a dray, dangerously ill, but determined to brave all for Freedom. A sick child was conveyed in the arms of its father. The women, many of them, were weeping among the crowd of lookers-on. Quite a number of liberty-loving Germans did not scruple to show their sympathy, and declaim against the whole thing.

The train started, and the poor people were gone, and by this present writing are on Canadian soil, beyond the reach of nigger-hunters. There will scarcely be any difference of opinion in our community as to the propriety of this movement, but the origin and kind of sentiment is widely diverse. While the humane and right-minded will be glad that these are removed beyond the grasp of and collision with an odious law, there will be those of that class who believe that there is something malarious in the presence of free niggers, creating an atmosphere in which pork and beef cannot be cured and packed, and cereals and groceries sold, and these will breathe freer since this hegira, in the removal of so many of the dreaded objects from our midst.—*Chicago Tribune, April 9.*

ASTOUNDING DEVELOPMENTS!

SLAVE STEALING AND NEGRO HUNTING.

Some weeks since, a man, a stranger, came to a respectable colored woman, for fifteen years resident in this city, a Mrs. Johnson. He introduced himself by saying that he was a friend of the colored race. He had learned that Mrs. Johnson had a daughter in slavery in Missouri. This started the old colored woman's confidences only slowly, and it was not until the second visit that he made much headway with his errand. Finally, however, he persuaded her of his good intention, his experience and ability in this particular line, and she agreed with him that he was to receive from her $150, for services and expenses in running off this daughter and her family, a husband and three children. Mrs. Johnson mortgaged her little home for a part of this sum.

This family was the Harris family, and they arrived in due time, and were closely sheltered here. Their new found friend and rescuer stuck closely to them, bade them keep the house of the mother and never be seen out of doors, and they followed his instructions.

Meanwhile this identical man, after a trip to St. Louis, came back, and was closeted again and again with Federal officers in this city. They used a room at the Tremont House for this purpose; and when the scheme was carefully ripened, the string was pulled, the game bagged, and the very party who stole the slaves in Missouri, and was paid one hundred and fifty dollars by the mother of the woman for so doing, is equally officious in sending them back, and so shares in the reward offered by the master.

There is reason to believe that the scoundrel is one of a regularly organized gang in St. Louis and Chicago, who make a business of running off and then returning slaves, by this shuttle-like process making a very good thing of it. The principal operators are ex-policemen, and policemen high in favor at St. Louis.—*Chicago Tribune, April 11th.*

THE SEQUEL TO THE HARRIS CASE.

The case of the city of Chicago against John Johnson, one of the persons charged with disorderly conduct in attempting to secure the person of one Hayes, who had been instrumental in giving information concerning the whereabouts of the Harris family, came before the Police Court, Justice Aiken, yesterday morning, the remainder of the defendants to appear this morning, and by consent of counsel, to be tried by one jury. Chancellor L. Jenks, Esq., appeared for the prisoners, and C. M. Willard, Esq., for the prosecution.

A jury consisting of the following persons was called by an officer of the Court, to hear the case: John Sanders, W. H. Simmons, George Holt, F. Miltenger and Michael Hart. The charge was simply disorderly conduct. As the principal weight of the case made by the prosecution is contained in the testimony of Adolph Miller, the officer who arrested the defendant, we give his evidence in full. Miller testified as follows:—

ADOLPH MILLER, SWORN. Am a Policeman; I arrested Johnson in front of the Armory; he was upon Wells street raising a disturbance, and trying to get the colored man Hayes out; was saying at the place, "That nigger must come out, dead or alive"; a man by the name of Hayes was up stairs; there were five or six hundred colored persons there when we took him out; Johnson was there awhile before and when I left with the prisoner; said that Hayes had informed some kidnappers, and they were going to take some slaves away South; they talked about getting Hayes out and punishing him; prisoner was there part of the time, but had left when we went in; there were eight or ten officers there; we told them to disperse, but not while this man was there; Johnson said Hayes had informed, and he must be got out, dead or alive; they were all trying to get him out; five or six men were standing at foot of stairs trying to break open the door; it was afterwards that Johnson made the remark; defendant was in the crowd outside at the time; the noise made was calculated to disturb the peace of the city, and two women living up stairs came out and asked us to use our endeavors to disperse the mob; this was between 10 and 11 o'clock one week ago last Monday, on south Wells street, between Polk and Taylor.

Cross-Examined. There were a good many white people there, and they were all talking; I did not arrest any whites; prisoner was very near me, and I heard him make the remark; he followed after us with the crowd to the Armory, and came skulking about again at 2 o'clock, when I recognized and took him in custody.

Testimony was also heard from T. A. Mason, officer Edwards, Mr. Smith, W. R. Sampson, George E. Ranstead, John Cooper, officer Beach, and a colored boy by the name of Elijah Hull, when the case was closed. Speeches of counsel were then made, in the course of which some pretty sparring was indulged in by both parties, and the case was given to the jury about 1 P. M. A verdict of "guilty" was rendered, fixing Johnson's fine at $15. An appeal was immediately taken, C. L. Jenks appearing as surety for the defendant.—*Chicago Tribune, 12th.*

A CARD FROM U. S. MARSHAL JONES.

TO THE PUBLIC.

CHICAGO, April 9, 1861.

I had not designed replying to the statements contained in the Chicago *Tribune*, in relation to the arrest of the fugitives in this city on Wednesday last; but so much has been said and so many false statements made and repeated, that I feel it due to the public and to myself that a correct statement of facts should be made.

The duty of a Marshal is suggested by the language of his official oath, which is as follows: "I do solemnly swear that I will *faithfully execute all lawful precepts* directed to the Marshal of the Northern District of Illinois under the authority of the United States, and true returns make, and in all things well and truly and without malice or *partiality* perform the duties of the office of Marshal of the Northern District of Illinois during my continuance in said office, and take only my lawful fees, so help me God." The law makes it as much the duty of the Marshal to execute a warrant for the arrest of a fugitive slave, as it makes it his duty to execute any other process; and having sworn to execute the law in good faith, I saw no other alternative when the warrant was placed in my hands but to execute it. The warrant was carefully examined by one eminently qualified to judge of its legality, and I was told by persons in whose judgment I placed implicit confidence, what my duty clearly was, and that anything short of its faithful execution would be a palpable violation of my oath. I knew too that if I succeeded in getting the fugitives into my custody, the law made me responsible for the full value of such fugitives in the State from which they escaped, in the event of their escape, whether with or without my assent. I also believed, (a belief justified by the result, in as much as a mob of several hundred negroes *did* assemble immediately after the arrest,) that the arrest could not be made publicly, without the certainty of a serious risk and probable loss of life. I therefore decided to have the arrests made early in the morning, before there were many persons on the street. The arrests were made at a few minutes past six o'clock, in broad daylight, and at half-past six the train started for Springfield, (stopping out of the city limits two hours and a half, awaiting for the regular morning train down to take them forward). The warrant described the fugitives so minutely that it was impossible to mistake them. The claimants brought letters from citizens of St. Louis of the highest respectability, among others one from O. D. Filley, late Mayor, indorsing him as a man of high moral character, and one whose statements were entitled to the utmost confidence. The *Tribune's* statement that the fugitives were "aroused from a state of somnolence" *is not true.* They were all up and dressed, with the exception of one of the children, which was but partially dressed.

No such language was used towards the woman as is attributed to one of the party making the arrest. The statement that "the United States Marshal, Jones, was the while frowning down the efforts of a grizzly headed colored person to get out of a bed room, against the door of which the majesty of the law, in the shape of Mr. Jones, had placed its back, with a revolver at the key-hole should the grizzly colored person prove obstreperous," is utterly false. I was not present at the arrest, did not go near the house where the fugitives were, and did not see them or any of them, until they got out of the omnibus at the depot. The statement that I "took none but pro-slavery Democrats into my office, to one of whom I had already given, probably with reference to such affairs as this, a regular Deputyship," is utterly untrue. The only Deputy I have appointed is as sound a Republican as any in the country. He supported Scott in 1852; published a Republican paper and supported Fremont in 1856, and was heartily a Lincoln man in 1860, and never voted a Democratic ticket in his life.

In regard to the statement that "other tools of like antecedents and sympathies were chosen, and their hard-heartedness tested, as the man tries the steel on which he is to rely," I have only to say that I did not know one of the men selected by my Deputy to assist him in the arrest—had no conversation with any of them on the subject, nor do I now know what their political sentiments are.

Allusion is twice made in the *Tribune's* article to the probability of my being rewarded by "a service of plate from the nigger drivers." In the same issue is a notice of a silver pitcher on exhibition on Clark street, marked "Mrs. J. R. Jones;" but the writer of the article carefully avoids giving any of the circumstances connected with the pitcher, leaving its readers to infer that the reward above referred to had already been received. I shall be pardoned for saying that the pitcher alluded to was presented to my wife by the Merchants' Association of Chicago, as a return for the zeal which it was supposed I had manifested in looking after their interests during the past winter at Springfield—the presentation of which I knew nothing of until I reached home on Sunday last.

The statement that I "hired the wretch Hayes to betray his colored brethren" is utterly false. Neither my deputy nor myself ever saw or heard of the man Hayes, until we saw his name connected with the matter in the *Tribune;* we had nothing whatever to do with him, directly or indirectly. The statement that "the brutalities that were inflicted upon the whole family, dragged, bound and gagged, and half naked down stairs, the oaths and curses and show of revolvers with which the tools of Marshal Jones did his bidding," &c., &c., is utterly false and without a semblance of truth. There was no more violence used than was absolutely necessary to make the arrest. No revolver was displayed or seen in the transaction, and no one gagged.

Neither my deputy nor myself ever heard of the $400 reward referred to until we saw it in the *Tribune.* I have only to add, in conclusion, that being first fully convinced that my oath required that I should execute the warrant in good faith, painful as the duty was, I sought to do it in such a manner as to avoid any scenes of lawless violence, and the more than probable loss of life in the event of a riot—and the riot itself—which would have been inevitable had the arrest been made at any other time or in any other manner. I very much doubt if any of those persons who are now so ready to censure me for a faithful discharge of an exceedingly unpleasant duty, have really any more sympathy for the negroes, or will do more to relieve their sufferings, than myself; or that they are at heart more thoroughly opposed to slavery than I am. The difference between them and myself is, that I have taken a solemn oath to execute the law, while they have not. If for a faithful discharge of my duty I am to be condemned, then I am prepared to take the consequences.

J. R. JONES, U. S. Marshal.

COMMENTS.

We give place, and have given a careful perusal to the above Card of United States Marshal Jones. It is no wonder that he desires to free himself from the just odium that would necessarily attach to an officer in his position, were our recent strictures on his course in the arrest of the Harris family true. Now the question is how far this letter of Marshal Jones is to be taken as a defence.

And we do not see that the features of the affair, whereof we complained are relieved a single whit by the careful special pleadings of Mr. Jones. The earlier statement in our first notice, quoted at length above, as to Mr. Jones being present at the time of the arrest, was fully and distinctly withdrawn in our next issue, but the further and indisputable fact remains on the best of evidence, that "*some person calling himself* U. S. Marshal Jones" did play the part at the bed-room door, and that one of the inmates of the room, a colored woman, was so frightened by the violence of the persons making the arrest that she leaped from the upper window to the ground, so severely injuring herself that she is still under physicians' care.

We censured Marshal Jones severely, but reluctantly, for the spirit and mode of this arrest; we do so still. We called it an outrage not aside from the atrocity and severity of the law itself, precisely as we might, without questioning the laws for collection of debt, censure a sharp constable for over and inhuman zeal in the discharge of his duty.

Marshal Jones says he was not there, but he was not far off, for he states that he met the party at the depot. He denies that he knows any of the men who aided in making the arrest, and we are bound to believe him; but not to excuse him. A man is responsible for the acts of his Deputy. It was Marshal Jones's business to know who was aiding in this arrest, and how it was accomplished. We tell him it was done inhumanly, and see nothing in his letter to disprove it, for the *strongest point Mr. Jones makes is lack of all personal knowledge of the matter.*

The omnibus is driven to the door in the grey of the morning. The household within doors are silent. The wretch Hayes whom Marshal Jones does not dare to say *was not hired*, had left the bolt drawn, and six armed men pass up stairs. One or two persons, neighbors, whose testimony we have, hear outcries and a scuffle. The children are brought down, and placed in the omnibus, then a stout colored man is dragged down, manacled, and his elbows tied behind his back. He is only half dressed, and the woman is brought down wrapped in a quilt for decency's sake. And this was precisely the form of arrest. Mr. Jones may make what fine point he pleases as to the actual state of "*somnolence*" of the party captured. There was certainly a somnolence to all ordinary calls to humanity on the part of the captors.

One of the Police Commissioners has since the arrest, questioned the Federal officers somewhat closely as to "who the men were who wore stars" at the time of this capture. He was told they were none of the city police, and the inference is left that stars were illegally worn by the pimps and bullies who were making up a reputation for Marshal Jones *without his knowledge*, as it appears from his Card. Mr. Jones vouches for his Deputy's Republicanism. It will strike the minds of many of our citizens as a novelty, and we are sorry to be convinced. But there the matter of disproving the *Tribune's* statement ends, for there is no question that this Deputy sought men who were "sound on the goose," and sound Democrats.—*Chicago Tribune, April 11th.*

THE VOICE OF TREASON.

Let not this perfidious Administration invoke the sacred names of the Union and the Constitution in the hope of cheating fools into the support of the unholy war which it has begun. The Administration is now proceeding to carry out the horrible threats of Helper and his indorsers. The Republican party is entirely abolitionized, and, if anything, we would prefer Garrison or Phillips as more honest and more humane than Abraham Lincoln.... What, then, in this dreadful emergency, should Northern citizens do, especially those who are not Abolitionists, who love peace, and desire, if possible, a reconstruction of the Union? Civil war is no mode of consummating that reconstruction, and no sympathy or support should be given the Administration in its prosecution. We assume that Democrats love the Union, and that Abolitionists would only use it for their purposes. He is no Democrat who will enter the army or volunteer to aid this diabolical policy of civil war. There is no treason in this. A man has as good right to save his life and limb—aye, and his soul too—from the perils of a fratricidal contest like this, as the capitalist has to keep his money. The wealthy will not supply means to depreciate the rest of their property, by prolonging this unnatural war, and the poor man has the same right to refuse his services in the unholy struggle. Without the aid of the Northern Democracy, the Administration cannot prolong the war it has wickedly begun. It will be baffled, although it should pass sedition laws, and make the utterance of a reproach against its dignitaries a misprision of treason, and so let it descend to the tomb of the Capulets disgraced, defeated, and accursed.—*New York News.*

The Abolition papers are trying to institute a reign of terror in New York. Everybody is to be overawed and bullied into silence. Everybody who declares against this fratricidal strife is to be treated as a traitor. They even propose that the telegraph wires be taken possession of, so that no news but such as they choose shall go over them. The next step will be to take possession of newspapers. The party of free speech has become the party of despotism. Let them beware! A free people can never be muzzled. Their threats we hurl back into their teeth. This is no time for recrimination on either side. It is no longer a question whether the South is right or the North right. It is simply a question of peace or war. There are many Republicans not in favor of war. We know what we say when we utter this. However wrong they may suppose the South to be, they are not for fight. No lover of his country can be in favor of this unnatural war. The people of this city ought to rise as one man, and, without taking sides with either party, demand peace. Stop this cruel nonsense at once. Providence has preserved us from bloodshed thus far, and it comes to a misguided people as one more chance for repentance. Let us improve it. Republicans! if you love your country, don't be deceived by your leaders. Rally, in this hour of trial, in favor of peace, and your children will rise up to call you blessed.—*New York Day Book.*

Civil war seems to be close at hand—perhaps is at this very moment raging about Charleston and Pensacola. On Thursday afternoon, Gen. Beauregard made a formal demand on Major Anderson for the surrender of Fort Sumter. This demand, if not complied with, will be followed by prompt action on the part of the investing forces, with what is hardly doubtful: Fort Sumter will be taken, if not surrendered. As was stated by President Buchanan months ago, the whole United States navy cannot reënforce it. Nor do we believe that President Lincoln and his advisers entertain the idea that it can be reënforced. Under the plea of sending provisions to Major Anderson, they have hoped to provoke an attack on an unarmed vessel, and thereby secure the united support of the North in an outrageous and inhuman fratricidal war on the South. In this, however, they will miserably fail. In whatever form or manner hostilities may commence on the soil of the Confederate States, they will be begun by the act of Lincoln's Administration; for the sentiment of the North is, that since the secession of those States, United States troops have only been kept within their limits as instruments of the subjugation of a free and sovereign people. The contest about to be inaugurated by President Lincoln and his advisers is a struggle between State Sovereignty and a band of Tories, who are bound to convert the Government at Washington into a consolidated despotism. It is the old Revolutionary fight over—a fight between the people and a strong Government. We search history in vain for a closer parallel to the act of George the Third, in sending fleets and armies into the harbor of Boston on the eve of the battle of Bunker Hill, than that of Lincoln in sending the navy and troops to Charleston. When the world read the story of the unequalled struggle between freedom and tyranny on Bunker Hill, the great heart of the people beat in high sympathy with the yeomanry of America; so it will be with the conflict at Charleston. The sympathy of the freedom-loving world will be with those who are fighting for their altars and their homes against the invading foe.—*Bangor (Me.) Daily Union.*

We still hope we shall be spared the calamity of a bloody war; but if the fanatical Nigger-Republican North is resolved to force it on us, we are ready to meet it. The forces of the world in arms can never conquer our people; and if we could be conquered, we would all die in the last ditch, before we would yield one inch to the dictation of the Nigger-Republican Lincoln Government.—*Atlanta (Geo.) Confederacy.*

☞ The following remarkable prophecy, "good for ninety days," appears in the editorial columns of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Intelligencer* of the 15th inst.:

"*In three months from this time, Lincoln and his government will have removed from Washington City to Boston:* the fifteen Slave States will be united under the Constitution of the Confederate States; the Middle and North-western States will have formed a separate and distinct government of their own, and Lincoln will be left alone in his glory, with the capital of his government in the Yankee city of Boston, and the extent of his territory will be composed of the six States of Puritan New England. We predict the utter disgrace, overthrow and annihilation of the whole batch of abolition conspirators who planned the infamous revolution, and plunged a free, happy and once united people in all the horrors of civil war."

There is no limit to Southern impudence, swagger, ruffianism and infatuation.